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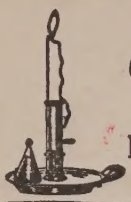

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THE AMERICAN RACE PROBLEM

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THE AMERICAN RACE PROBLEM

A STUDY OF THE NEGRO

BY

EDWARD BYRON REUTER

PROFESSOR OF SOCIOLOGY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF IOWA

CROWELL'S SOCIAL SCIENCE SERIES

EDITED BY

SEBA ELDRIDGE

University of Kansas

NEW YORK

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EDITOR'S NOTE

THE most authoritative exposition of the so-called Negro problem in America which has been published so far is set forth in the present volume by Dr. Reuter. The facts which create the problem and fix the limits to such solutions of it as may be possible are here presented and analyzed. This exposition and analysis constitute a destructive critique of the many superficial and romantic solutions which have been proposed for the problem, and at the same time indicate the directions from which progress in the better adjustment of relations between the two races must come, if it is to come at all. The book may well mark a milestone both in the scientific study of the problem, and in practical efforts to bring it under some measure of rational control.

S. E.

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PREFACE

The Negroes have at all times been a source of friction in American social life and the various political, economic, educational and other problems that have arisen in consequence of their presence in numbers have been endlessly discussed. All manner of men, wise and stupid, Northern and Southern, black and white, have been moved to express opinions and the literature is singularly rich in sociological material. As in the case of other problems that come in for popular discussion the opinions that gain currency are in major part simple rationalizations. For certain purposes these opinions may have independent value but the sociologist is not concerned to debate their validity. But he is interested in analyzing and describing them, in defining the situations to which they are inevitable responses, in tracing their mutations in a changing social order, and in defining the rôle they play in social life.

The rich variety of naïve material makes racial life and opinion a suitable point at which to introduce the student to the scientific study of concrete social reality. But the absence of any convenient organization of the material has been an obstacle in the way of its use. The very wealth of concrete data, in the absence of expert guidance, is sometimes a source of embarrassment. Discussion groups do not always distinguish between the formulation of opinion and the analysis of opinion. In this connection the present volume should be found useful. It is designed to serve as an outline and as a point of reference as well as to provide an organization and a

point of view. It is not intended as a substitute for the study of the concrete material.

The bibliographical material appended to the separate chapters is not a source of reference to authoritative statements. It will introduce the student to a variety of opinions, frequently unsound and often contradictory, which he must learn to analyze if his time is not to be misspent. If he cannot learn to deal with sentiments and opinions, his own included, as objectively and dispassionately as the biologist deals with the simpler organisms, he should be directed into some field of activity where his talents will have an opportunity to function productively.

E. B. R.

The University of Iowa.

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THE AMERICAN RACE PROBLEM

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

THE POPULAR INTEREST IN THE RACE PROBLEM

The social situation resulting from the presence of ten million Negroes in a population preponderantly and increasingly white is commonly accepted as America's greatest social problem. Whether or not it be given the first place, it certainly occupies a prominent place among the serious problems of the national life. It touches the social organization at all points and directly or indirectly exercises an influence in determining the present order and the future development. The average quality of the population is modified by the presence of this divergent stock; the health and living standards of the country are profoundly affected by their presence; the economic structure of the society is changed and its evolution in part determined by the fact of their presence; the processes of political life, at least in certain parts of the country, have been so perverted because of their presence that political democracy has become little more than an empty form. In every phase of life, political, economic, intellectual, moral, and social, the Negro enters either directly as a factor or indirectly as a condition determining personal and group behavior. The direction and the degree of development of American life has been in part de-

termined by the presence of the Negro people, and their significance for the future promises to be no less important than their significance for the past.

The Negro people and the problems that center in or revolve about their presence and place in American life have been the theme of much discussion. The literature bearing upon the so-called race problem is voluminous and continually increasing. Various phases of the problem have been made the subject of official and unofficial investigation and report. It is a theme for poetry and fiction as well as a subject for popular and scholarly books. Few subjects have claimed a larger amount of space in the magazines of general circulation. Above a dozen periodicals and several hundred newspapers are devoted exclusively or in larger part to problems of race and race relations. The problem is a periodic subject for debate in legislative halls. It is a favorite topic for lectures and discussion before church audiences, women's clubs, and other semi-social groups. Hundreds of organizations have been formed for the purpose of giving individuals opportunity to express their opinions and advocate their solutions. The interest in the problem is general and people derive great satisfaction from its discussion.

The discussion discloses a wide diversity of points of view. To the Negro, the problem normally presents itself as the practical one of finding a way by which life may be made tolerable in a community the major part of which is neither friendly nor sympathetic. To the white man the problem is likely to appear as one of finding means to prevent a culturally backward racial minority from corrupting the population stock and debasing the social and institutional standards. Whether the particular angle of approach be political, economic, educational, eugenic, sentimental, or whatever, and whether the discussion be by white man or Negro, the point of view is

Direct traffic with Africa was at first prohibited in an effort to keep the colonies free from non-catholic influences but the demand for Negro slaves was soon greater than the available surplus of Christianized blacks. Consequently the Pagan blacks came to be looked upon as having no religion and after 1510 their importation direct from Africa was allowed.

In the latter part of the sixteenth and all during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the slave trade bulked large and all the important maritime powers sought an active share in it. The Dutch engaged extensively in the traffic particularly after about 1600. England chartered the Royal African Company in 1672 though English merchants had been engaged in the traffic a hundred years earlier. At the time of the settlement of the North American colonies the traffic in African slaves was carried on with the sanction and under the patronage of the chief European nations.

For a century after the introduction of Negroes into the Virginia Colony in 1619 the growth in numbers was very slow. The small increase was due chiefly to births; the importations were inconsiderable. Probably not above 25,000 were imported prior to 1700 and it was the middle of the century before the slave trade to the North American Colonies became sufficiently large tc attract attention. Subsequently, the numbers grew more rapidly. The natural increase was high, and this was supplemented by ever increasing importations. In the first half of the eighteenth century the importations numbered in the neighborhood of 100,000, perhaps four times the total of all previous importations. In the following decade, 1751-1760, the number imported is estimated at 35,000. An additional 100,000 had been imported by the end of the century In 1790 the slave population numbered 697,624.

As slavery became an established and a socially and

legally sanctioned institution there grew up and flourished an active domestic trade in Negroes. This trade became particularly important after the system became characteristically Southern. The rise in the market price of slaves furnished an incentive to Northern owners to dispose of their relatively unprofitable holdings in the Southern market. The tendency was accentuated by the later action of the Northern states in abolishing slavery.

The abduction and sale of free Negroes was an element of some importance in the domestic trade. Kidnapping gangs flourished. Free Negro children were frequently kidnapped and sold into slavery. In some cases whole families were carried away. White children were sometimes stolen and sold. There is very little basis for estimating the number of legally free persons thus sold into slavery but the number was considerable; it was probably equal to and possibly exceeded the number of Negroes who escaped from bondage.

Another element of some importance in the latter days of the institution was slave breeding. The extent to which this was carried on in Virginia, Maryland, and other border states has probably been greatly exaggerated, but that certain owners did encourage the multiplication of their slaves in order to profit by the sale of the children there is no reason to question. In general the numbers increased without much regard for the master's wishes. In the border states the plantations were frequently overstocked by the natural increase and the surplus sold South where the system was more profitable, the demand active, and the prices high.

The emancipation of the slaves came as an emergency war measure and without provision having been made to mediate the transition from slavery to freedom. The result was an unnecessarily large amount of social and economic disorganization and of personal demoralization. The haste with which the franchise was thrust upon the

newly freed blacks added political to social and economic disorganization and intensified Southern feeling against the advance of the Negroes. The effort to resolve the sectional differences by the resort to major force created problems more delicate and difficult than those it undertook to solve.

THE FORMATION AND PERSISTENCE OF RACIAL ATTITUDES

The Negroes brought into the New World situation and presently reduced to a perpetual servitude became very rapidly accommodated to the environment and the status. The explanation of the comparative ease with which this was brought about doubtless lies in part in the peculiar racial traits of the Negro people themselves. They are strong and robust in physique and so everywhere sought after as laborers. In disposition they are cheerful, kindly, and sociable; in temperament they are characteristically extrovert, so readily obedient and easily contented. More than most other racial groups they are patiently tolerant under abuse and oppression and little inclined to struggle against difficulties. These facts of racial temperament and disposition make the Negroes more amenable to the discipline of slavery than perhaps any other racial group.

There was also some degree of domestication on the part of the slave group. It is difficult to determine in how far the slave system operated as a selective force, but that there was a selective tendency is evident. It has been claimed, for example, that the slave trade itself was in a measure selective in that the more vigorous and intelligent of the Africans escaped the slavers, were themselves slavers, and that the more stupid were captured and sold into servitude. In the American situation it is probable that the slaves who escaped into free territory or joined the Indian tribes were active types in larger

measure than the average of the slave population. In the later slavery days the custom of selling the unruly and vicious Negroes to the far South, where the term of life was short and the opportunity to reproduce less than in the easier conditions farther North, may have had some influence on the temperamental type of the American Negro people. But certainly no great change could have been wrought in the relatively short period of American slavery.

Aside from any process of domestication, selection operating through the biological processes to preserve certain types rather than others, the Negroes became easily and rapidly habituated to the American life. They assimilated the culture facts of the white group with ease and rapidity. The tribal dispersion made the perpetuation of the native dialects impossible and they everywhere acquired some command of the English language. The native religious ideas rapidly took on the forms and symbols of Christianity. As rapidly as opportunity and example offered, the Negroes took on the manners and customs of the master class. And so in regard to other elements of the culture: the slaves lost their own heritages and adopted those of the whites at a stroke. All this was the more easily accomplished because of the absence of any spirit of nationality and because of the deliberate or accidental mixture of types in America.

In the process of assimilating American culture they were coincidentally habituated to the slave régime. They were born and lived in a group of white superiors. Their habits of thought and action were molded by this fact. They accepted the white as the superior and the master and came to expect mastery and superiority from the white. They developed the behavior that enabled them to live in the inferior status, the type of behavior expected from them in the situation. They accepted their own inferior status as a part of the order of nature and de-

veloped the whole body of sentiments, attitudes, loyalties, and beliefs that follow inevitably from the inferior status. The Negro was thus not alone a slave in body; he was a slave in mind as well. Without such mental attitudes no people could be kept in such servitude as characterized the American situation: no slave system can rest alone on the basis of physical force.

The accommodation of the white to the slave status was no less marked than that of the Negro. The existence of the slave implied the existence of the master. And the exercise of control developed the necessary attitudes of mind. Thus a slave-owning aristocracy developed as a physical reality and as a state of mind. The existence of the inferior implied and made necessary the existence of the superior.

The emancipation of the slaves changed in a moment the whole economic and legal system. The Negroes became legally free with rights and privileges identical with those of other persons in the society. But they became freedmen rather than free men.

The supporting attitudes of the Negroes and of the whites, on which the institution of slavery in reality rested, did not and could not suddenly change to make possible a realization of the new political order. Habituated to an inferior status the Negro retained the mental attitudes and behavior responses appropriate to that status. He had the feeling of dependence of the man upon the master. The white man had made it possible for him to survive in America and the Negro largely thought of himself and his development as for the white man's use. He was inferior in his attitudes as he was in his economic and social status. He looked upon the white man as superior by nature as he had in reality been by law and custom. Nor did the legal edict change in any way the attitude of the white man. The attitudes appropriate to an aristocratic and dominating group remained. To him

the freedman as the slave was a being somewhere between a child and an animal. He considered and trusted the Negro as an inferior, never as an equal. The reciprocal attitudes of the former master and of the former slave persisted and controlled the mutual behavior: the legal status existed as a potential rather than as an actual status.

It was only gradually and with the passing of time that the Negroes developed attitudes appropriate to their legal status. In the transition they conducted themselves with surprising moderation. The older generation, schooled in the restraints of slavery, retained the group of attitudes determined by the past relation. But as the Negroes became habituated to freedom and responsibility for their own support, there developed gradually new types of mental and social attitudes. They gradually acquired a sense of group separateness and the beginnings of a racial consciousness. Especially as a new generation which had never known the restraints enforced by a slave régime appeared, the attitude of loyalty to and acquiescence in any and all desires and wishes of the whites changed to one of restlessness under oppression and sometimes to one of secret and bitter hatred for the dominant whites.

The changing social, economic, and educational status of the Negroes tended to bring new contacts between the races. With the existing racial attitudes of the whites, these new relations and contacts were galling. They were in a way a challenge to white superiority and frequently resulted in friction and conflict. The Negro, in the Southern phrase, was acceptable "in his place," that is, in the position of an inferior and a subordinate. As a man, he was, in the attitude of the whites, intolerable, and association with him, on a plane of equality, was unbearable. This emotional reaction, not to the Negro but to the Negro in a new relation, presently came to

dominate the thinking of large groups. To the white man, the attitude was not one of narrow prejudice but a vital, necessary attitude if the white race and its culture was to be preserved. Believing the white to be superior by nature, it followed that to give the Negro of any social class any sort of social equality was to doom the whites. So the prejudice was a necessary attitude. Thus the white man was always ready to push the rising Negro back among the masses from whom he attempted to rise. This was particularly true as the lower classes—descendants of the non-slave-holding "poor whites"—came to exercise more influence in economic life and industrial occupations and to have a larger voice in civic and political matters.

The opposition to the Negro in the new relation of a man and an equal instead of as a Negro and an inferior found expression in various and diverse efforts to retard the progress of the race. The whites desired to keep the Negroes "in their place" as laborers and inferiors; and to this end there grew up various legal and extra-legal, various legislative, administrative, and mob devices, to retard the progress of the Negro and to maintain the social distance between the groups. Laws were passed designed to abridge in various ways the liberties of the freeman, to control his contacts, and fix his status as near as possible to that of servitude. There grew up the habit of dealing by repression with friction and disorder resulting from the increased individual competition of the races and the conflict of interest whenever the behavior or interests of the Negroes ran counter to the white man's desires. By intimidation and physical force the Negroes were compelled to modify their behavior to please the dominant race. All the devices of the whites to repress a phenomenon with which they could not deal justly and fairly operated to retard Negro progress and to maintain the existing racial inequality.

The racial sentiments and attitudes of the whites in the presence of the rapidly changing economic, educational, and industrial conditions of the Negroes gradually crystallized into a racial creed. This creed required the economic and political domination of the white and the maintenance of a social color line—an aristocracy based, not on intelligence or ability, but upon color. The idea of race integrity became an obsession of a large segment of the white population and the supposed aspirations of the Negroes were used by the demagogues to stimulate the fears of the whites. To keep the Negro "in his place" assumed an importance transcending all other things and operated to the detriment of both the Negro and the white.

Meanwhile, the Negroes continued to progress, gaining in education and wealth and becoming an increasingly important factor in the political and cultural life of the nation. To the extent that they advanced, the fear of Negro domination increased and with it a more bitter and determined effort to retard their progress. And the Negroes in proportion to their advance became restless under restriction, limitation, and racial discrimination and a spirit of resistance to injustice and mistreatment developed among all classes of the race. The races thus tended to draw apart, to form separate communities, and to have no contacts except the secondary and impersonal relations of business and industry. The sympathetic attitude characteristic of earlier relations tended to disappear and the races to know each other only in the impersonal relations of life.

A STATEMENT OF THE RACE PROBLEM

It is out of this situation that the race problem of the present day arises. Both racial groups live and of necessity must continue to live within the same political and

industrial areas. It is inevitable, therefore, that they come and will continue to come into competition, either as individuals or as racial groups. But the races in general do not know each other. The behavior of the white man is determined by a complex of deep-seated prejudices toward the Negro and by a fixed conception of the proper place of the Negro in the social and industrial order. In the meanwhile, as the Negroes advance in culture and become racially self-conscious, they become more and more prone to challenge the white man's assumption of a social superiority and his racial dogmas in regard to the fixity and natural basis of the existing caste order of society. The race problem as a practical problem of the social order is thus an heritage from an earlier social order. It is the problem of maintaining some sort of harmonious and mutually satisfactory working relations between the two racial groups in the population.

The situation also involves certain important questions of the social heritage. To the extent that the Negro people differ fundamentally from the white people in their temperamental characteristics, the differences will express themselves in a modification of the cultural characteristics of the society to the extent that the members of the temperamentally divergent group are permitted to participate freely in the group life. The social values and institutional arrangements will undergo an evolutionary change fitting them to more adequately satisfy the fundamental needs of the Negro people. The perpetuation of the existing culture complex is thus by many persons believed to depend upon the exclusion of the Negro peoples from a full cultural participation. They oppose such participation on the ground that it would inevitably mean an Africanization of American culture.

The political group involves a similar question. The meaning of democracy is essentially a political order in which all members of the group participate. To the extent

that such participation is restricted, to that extent does the order fail to be a democratic one and the social control rest upon other than a democratic technique. But participation in political affairs is assumed to involve an intelligent appreciation if not an understanding of the questions involved. If such understanding does not exist, the political order becomes erratic and leads to disorder and ultimately to a political disorganization. The Negroes, a culturally backward, educationally retarded, and socially excluded group, but a few decades removed from slavery, are wholly without experience with or comprehension of a democratic political order. To permit their full participation in the political life would be to put a strain on that order which it would be unable to bear. To exclude them from a full participation is to discard to that extent democracy for the older arbitrary type of political control without the consent or participation of the governed.

Any acceptable solution of the practical aspects of the racial problem must necessarily be an arrangement that will insure the Negro justice before the law. He is and in all probability will remain a minority group in the population. It is necessary that means be found that will permit the Negro to be a man and an American. If he is to be a man and take his place as a citizen in American life and advance with the advancing culture, the group must participate in that culture. But the habits and attitudes of a large part of the white world are antagonistic to the cultural progress of the Negro. As a numerically weaker group in the population they must be guaranteed certain essential economic, educational, political and social rights. The problem of securing opportunity and social justice for the minority group is an important phase of the Negro problem.

If the Negroes are to be an efficient and socially productive element in the population, their educational status

must be made to conform more nearly to that of the modern peoples. The problem involves, therefore, the task of enlightening the masses to a point where they can participate in the American culture and make to it such contributions as their latent genius is capable of making. There is also the problem of raising the industrial efficiency of the group that they may not be a handicap to the economic evolution. The social status of the race must be raised. Their health standards must be improved. Their home life must be purified. Their moral standards must be brought into conformity with the prevailing standards of the time. All these are elements of the Negro problem, not because the Negro is black and of a different race but because the group is culturally backward in the midst of a foreign culture.

The existence of a policy of exclusion and segregation inevitably leads to the development of a racially self-conscious group. The existence of a nationalistic sentiment, in turn, leads to the voluntary withdrawal of the racially conscious groups. Such segregated groups must, as the result of the cultural isolation, become or remain culturally retarded. Such groups inevitably come into competition with other groups in society. When such competition becomes keen it becomes conscious and results on slight provocation in racial conflict. If such segregated, self-conscious groups are to be created in the community, it is necessary that some machinery be developed to mediate the relations with other groups and avoid open hostilities. Such groups also mean the restriction of individual competition with all that such restriction means in the limitation of individual success and development.

The problem also involves questions as to the future status of this element in the population. Are they to remain a retarded and excluded group—a labor proletariat—or are they to be raised or allowed to rise to the

cultural and educational level of the white population? Is it possible that they can receive education, acquire wealth, and otherwise advance and white America still maintain her cherished prejudices? Can this element of the population be kept ignorant and backward without retarding the cultural advance of the society? Is it possible to avoid racial conflict if the Negroes are allowed to advance in wealth and education? To what extent may tolerance, good-will, and mutual understanding replace the spirit of hatred, suspicion, intolerance, and misunderstanding that now so largely prevails? Will discussion or brute force determine the racial policies?

Finally, it should be remarked that the race problem in America is not a unique phenomenon in the affairs of men. A similar problem seems to have arisen wherever races of divergent appearance and different culture have come into contact in the modern world. The racial problems of South Africa, Brazil, Hawaii, and elsewhere differ in details but involve the same essential elements and raise the same type of questions.

THE PRACTICAL IMPORTANCE OF THE RACE PROBLEM

Something of the nature of the problem created by the presence of the Negro in American life has been suggested. From a practical point of view the importance of the problem is not easy to exaggerate. The group includes practically one-tenth of the total population of the country and anything that concerns so large a segment of a country's population is a matter of general social interest. A backward group of smaller dimensions might perhaps be ignored without serious notable harm to the country as a whole. But to neglect the welfare of a group comprising ten per cent of the population and to ignore the problems that their presence creates is neither a wise nor practical public policy. The cultural status of the

Negro people is a matter of vital concern to the entire country.

But the Negro group and the race problems have a special interest and social importance. The group is not only a numerically important part of the population; it has particular significance because of its conspicuous cultural retardation. The masses of the Negroes are uneducated and a high percentage entirely illiterate. The sickness and death rates are high and their health standards are low. Their family life is on a very low plane. They are economically inefficient. Their standard of living is inferior. They are prone to a varied assortment of vices characteristic of a poor and ignorant people. It is part of a wise public policy to advance the cultural status of the backward groups and otherwise provide for their welfare.

But the welfare of other elements of the population is equally at stake; the condition of the Negroes is of no less importance to the whites than it is to the Negroes themselves. The welfare of every group in a population is directly or indirectly affected by the social condition of other groups; there can be no movement or change in one race that will not have an effect upon the other. The whites are and will continue to be retarded where the Negro element of the population is retarded. In the present situation the white South is the most direct and immediate sufferer. It is not possible for a population handicapped by a large backward and inefficient group to make the same progress as may be made by the same group without such handicap. The general social, economic, educational and political backwardness of the Southern sections of the country is the outcome of policies that have not only failed to utilize the creative power of the colored element but have diverted much of the energy of other elements of the section into negative and

futile endeavor. And the entire nation suffers from the backwardness of a section and of a racial group.

The problem takes on an added importance because it is one of the relatively permanent facts of American life. There is no present evidence to indicate that the problem will pass or become of less importance in the near future. On the contrary, there is every indication that it will become a more acute and more important one. As people become increasingly conscious of population welfare and more desirous to control the factors that accelerate or retard social progress, more attention will be given to the population stock and to the Negro element as the important group lying on the outside and acting as a drag on the social and cultural advance of the group.

THE RACE SITUATION AS AN OPPORTUNITY FOR SCIENTIFIC SOCIAL STUDY

Aside from any political or reform interest, the Negro in America offers one of the best and one of the most neglected opportunities for scientific study of any group in the modern world. The reformer and the administrator are interested in the Negro people because of the problem which they introduce into the social and political life. But the student of social life is little concerned with the problem in the form in which it interests the reformer and the administrator except as this form of the problem throws light upon the facts and processes of the human social order which he is concerned to understand. His interest is the scientific and only ultimately practical one: the effort to discover the mechanisms, the causal relations, in social phenomena and so provide a basis for social and administrative technique.

For this scientific study the Negroes in America are valuable above most other social groups. They present

all stages of culture development. In the group are men and women highly and fully educated and refined, persons who have thoroughly assimilated white culture and have in some respects added to it. At the opposite extreme are persons but slightly removed from the African culture level. There are other groups of longer time in America but whose residence in the isolated regions of the hinterland has so retarded the assimilative process that they are still, in many respects, outside the modern culture. There are Negroes in America who can still speak a native African dialect and others whose English dialect is not intelligible to outsiders.

In the group it is possible to study the evolution of human and social institutions in process. Almost every stage in culture evolution may be seen in coincident process of becoming. What must usually be studied by an historic method may here be studied by an observational and scientific one.

On the physical side the race includes every variation of amalgamated stock from the Negroes of unmixed African ancestry to those with the merest trace of Negro blood. Between these extremes is every degree and type of racial intermixture. In this mixed population it is possible to study the effects of race crossing in a way not possible elsewhere. The race offers a laboratory for the student interested in human biology as it does to the sociologist interested in the social and cultural and human facts.

THE PURPOSE OF THE PRESENT VOLUME

It is the purpose of the present volume to state in a simple way the problem created by the presence in the population of this racially divergent minority. It is no part of the task to seek a solution for the problem: in

the very nature of the case, there is no solution. The intention here is rather briefly to present the minimum body of information essential to intelligent discussion and understanding of the racial problems. To this end the present situation and condition of the Negro people will be presented from different important angles, attention will be given to answering the question as to why the present situation is what it is, and the present tendencies in race development and racial relations will be indicated.

READINGS

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CHAPTER II

RACE AS A SOCIOLOGICAL CONCEPT

RACE CONSIDERED AS A PHYSICAL CONCEPT

In strict anthropological usage, race is a species subdivision or possibly a division of a sub-species. It has the same general connotation as the term breed which is used to designate a species subdivision of cultivated plants or domestic animals. Applied to human beings, the term race implies a blood related group with characteristic and common hereditary traits. In the strict use of this terminology human beings constitute a distinct species division of the genus homo, the various existing and extinct types of mankind being varieties or races. In a slightly different usage the human animal is treated as a distinct species with three or more sub-species—Caucasian, Mongoloid, and Negroid—the divisions of which are races. Thus the Caucasian is a sub-species while the divisions of the Caucasian—the Nordic, the Alpine, the Mediterranean, and the Hindu—are races.

A race in this sense ordinarily owes its origin to the fact that a biological mutation or series of mutations produced an individual or series of individuals possessed of distinctive characters, and to the fact that a physical isolation of these divergent types resulted in their inbreeding and, consequently, in the fixation of the distinctive characters by environmental selection. The conditions that give rise to mutant types are not yet established, but once the mutant form has appeared the subsequent process is clear. The new character may be

swamped by a crossing with non-mutant types or, if unfitted to the existing conditions of life, it may disappear in the competitive process of natural selection. On the other hand, the divergent, mutant type, by some happy chance or because of some peculiar fitness in the existing situation, may survive and transmit its divergent characters. In succeeding generations, assuming a superior survival value to inhere in the mutant form, the race may change by the selective process and come to be characterized by what in its origin was a divergent character. In this case the race undergoes an evolutionary change better fitting it to meet the exigencies of life. It may happen that, through accident or choice, or because of expulsion from the normal group, the mutant individuals, or offspring carrying the germinal determinants for the divergent characters, may become segregated and interbred. In such case the mutant characters become fixed and characterize a new race or variety of the species. It is also possible for new types to appear and become fixed as races in the absence of mutational change. Crossbreeding may produce hybrid types with intermediate characters and these hybrids may by inbreeding establish a type which will breed true to the hybrid character. It is genetically possible, for example, for a human race characterized by a brown skin to be produced, without mutation, through the crossing of Negroid and Caucasian individuals, followed by a selective breeding of the hybrid types.

The problem of classification is beset with very great, possibly unsurmountable, difficulties. Existing racial types are not distinct and clear cut and there is no single criterion nor any group of criteria by means of which definite and logical lines of division may be drawn. Stature, perhaps the most striking of all human traits, is of relatively slight value since racial differences are generally slight and individual variations relatively large,

and because it is subject to considerable variation through environmental influence. Skin color, another conspicuous racial mark, is by itself of little value for purposes of race identification or classification: skin color is a question of degree, all races being colored and the pigment being the same in all. It varies almost continuously through all the shades from pink to black, shows great individual variation among members of the same race, and is markedly influenced by environmental conditions, particularly by exposure to light. Hair color is a character apparently without adaptive significance and consequently more stable and so more important for purposes of racial classification but it shows a relatively small range of variation. With the exception of a single racial stock all peoples have black hair. Eye color has the same limitation on its value. Skull capacity is dependent among other things upon body stature and the cephalic index, and shows two or three times more individual than average racial variation. The cephalic index itself, the color of the eye, the nasal index, prognathism, hairiness of body, texture of the hair, and other criteria have some diagnostic value. The results of attempts to classify races differ according to the criteria selected. The effort to take into account all criteria and to weight them according to their importance for classificatory purposes results in the concept of a race as a sort of average of a group of individuals showing a rather wide range of individual variation. Between the Chinaman and the North European or between other extreme types there is no confusion. But the degree of variation among the type forms is generally less than the individual variations within the types so there is a consequent overlapping which, in the less divergent racial types, tends to be continuous.

The minute study and comparison of the different racial types has led to a pretty general acceptance of a threefold major classification as capable of including

all but a fraction of the world's people. But these primary races or sub-species—the Caucasian, the Mongoloid, and the Negroid—are generalized racial types, hypothetical stocks, rather than living races.

THE INTERMIXTURE OF RACES AND THE FORMATION OF PEOPLES

These original stocks or sub-species underwent further evolutionary change. New types appeared and gradually established themselves as independent racial types beside the parent stock or to the exclusion of the parent group. The original Caucasian stock split up into three or four distinct sub-types. To the North appeared a tall, light-skinned, blue-eyed type with dolichocephalic head, narrow nose, and straight face. This Nordic type survived and presently established itself as the sole possessor of the region, possibly because of a peculiar fitness to the climatic conditions, possibly because its superior beauty gave an advantage in the process of sexual selection. Farther to the South the broad-headed, brown haired, Alpine race became differentiated from the parent stock. Elsewhere and under appropriate conditions for survival appeared the Mediterranean and Hindu racial branches of the primary stock. Thus the hypothetical Caucasian stock came to be represented on the European continent by the Nordic, the Alpine, and the Mediterranean, and perhaps other divisions. The other primary stocks underwent similar differentiation as the result of peculiar selective forces operating on the basis of mutational changes.

But the opposite type of influence was also active. Migration has been one of the most universal of human tendencies. Whenever the isolating barriers were broken down, the races intermixed with the consequent production of hybrid types. The mating of these hybrid stocks as well as their intermixture with the parent stocks led to

the blending of characters as well as to the mixture of segregating characters and so to the establishment of types mixed and intermediate between the various parent races.

The whole series of related questions concerning the origin of man, his place in the animal series, the evolutionary steps in the appearance of the man form, the fossil and extinct human and prehuman types and their relationship to present or past anthropoid types and to the living forms of man, the classification of present and earlier forms, and various other questions of man's origin and place in nature fall outside the sociologist's field of research. The questions are physical and biological; they are not sociological in any accurate usage and generally are not even social questions. They engage the attention of specialized groups of scholars who have developed and perfected a methodological procedure for their study. The sociological problem of race is in a way related but is at the same time quite distinct from that of anthropology or human biology. It involves a distinct methodology and has a different scientific objective. The racial problems that concern the anthropologist come within the sociologist's sphere of interest only when and to the extent that they condition or determine social contacts and so determine or condition human and social behavior.

PEOPLES AS A SOCIAL CONCEPT

The age long process of racial differentiation and blending of racial stocks bears little relation to the modern aggregations of peoples. The modern and existing nationalistic groupings are historic products, not homogeneous racial groups. Political boundaries are run with little or no attention to the ethnic character of the groups included or excluded. The modern nationalistic unity is one of culture and not of race. The older form of tribal

unity, based upon kinship has been replaced by a unity dependent upon language, religion, political memories, and other facts of a common social heritage.

The bulk of the population of the British Isles is Nordic but modified and intermixed with Alpine and Iberian, Mediterranean, racial groups. The population of France is Nordic in the North and Alpine in the South and this is also true of Germany. A greater racial affinity exists between the Nordic stock in the northern parts of these countries or between the Alpine stocks in the southern parts than between the northern and southern part of either country. Italy, Alpine in the North and Mediterranean in the South, is bi-racial. Spain is a medley of racial stocks and mixtures of races resulting from the various invasions of the peninsula within historic times. The peninsula was overrun by the Phoenecians, who intermixed with the previously hybridized Iberians and Scots, and later by the Carthaginians, Romans, Visigoths, Vandals, Arabs, and Moors. And other divergent racial types were introduced by the Jews and the considerable number of black slaves from the continent of Africa. Every European nation is a mosaic of mixed and imperfectly blended racial types. The United States, with its original inhabitants of Mongolian racial stock, was settled by the mixed Caucasian racial stock of the British Isles. Additional Nordic stock was introduced by immigration from Scandinavia and North Germany; Alpine strains in the South German, Austrian, Hungarian, Russian, and the Jew; Mediterranean in the Italians; and non-Caucasian racial stocks in the Negroes and the Orientals.

Nationality is thus not an ethnic concept. The unity of political groups is in no sense dependent upon racial homogeneity and may exist in spite of the greatest ethnic diversity. The unity of nationality is political, cultural, and historical. It is based upon a common language, on

customs, memories, and political traditions not upon the biological fact of common racial origin.

THE NEGROES AS A RACE

The Negro race is one of the three fairly well-marked divisions of the Negroid stock.

The origin of this racial group is unknown. The first evidence of a Negroid stock is certain skeletal remains of the so-called Grimaldi race which date from the Auragnacian period of the Old Stone Age. Neither the ancestors nor the descendants of this form have been traced but the discovery of the remains indicates a differentiation of the type at a period antedating the birth of Christ by some twenty to twenty-five thousand years. The relationship of this form to the other races has not been made out. It was possibly the ancestral type from which the modern Negro races are descended but if so the connecting links are not known.

The African branch of the Negroid races with which we are alone concerned does not present a single type. They are typically tall of stature, with narrow head, dark skin, broad nose, prognathous jaw, woolly hair, and slight hairiness of face and body. But in the rich variety of their native environment the type has undergone a disintegration into partially differentiated stocks and races differing widely in characteristics. It is also probable that there was a considerable intermixture or racial stocks in Africa in periods antedating historic records; some of the divergence between the historic types seems to be an expression of these prehistoric contacts. And all through the historic period there has been some contact with Africa by other racial groups. From the earliest historic periods Negroes from Central Africa and from the East Coast were used as slaves by the Egyptians and gradually disappeared into the Egyptian population. The admix-

ture of Egyptian blood also modified the Negro type in all regions where they came into contact. On the North the contact of the Arabs modified the Negro type. And the various tribal stocks throughout the continent have been modified through the immigration and mixing of peoples incident to the domestic African slave trade.

The modern Negroes are consequently mixed races. They represent a large number of tribes and tribal stocks partly segregated and so partly individualized racially. But these tribal stocks are racially impure; perhaps only the Congo-Pigmies, the Bushmen, and a few tribes of forest Negroes are without more or less trace of an ancient white intermixture. The divisions, like those of other countries, are political and language groupings as well as groupings on the basis of geographic separation and ethnic differences.

THE IMPORTANCE OF RACIAL TRAITS

The various distinguishing marks of race as stature, skin color, cephalic index, and the like have a meaning and a value for purposes of classification and for attacking the problems of racial origins and relationships, for problems of evolutionary change and development, and for other problems of interest from an anthropological point of view.

These racial characteristics seem in some cases to have adaptive significance. Individuals with characters of value in a given environment would survive in a larger percentage of cases than would other individuals not so marked, and would, therefore, tend to exclude by selection all other types. Such survival value may inhere, for example, in skin color. It appears that a dark skin, being an excellent protection against injurious light rays, has a survival value in the tropics and in other regions of intense light. It is frequently asserted that the white

race is ill-adapted to the climatic conditions in America and that the operation of natural selective processes will ultimately change the skin color of the population to a darker shade.

In other cases the racial marks appear to have no adaptive significance. It has not been shown for example that the texture of the hair, the facial angle, or the nasal index have any survival value. These and other marks of race appear to persist because of indifference—they are neither valuable nor injurious to the individual. Some of these biologically indifferent traits may, however, have a significance and survival value in the processes of sexual selection. It is possible that the establishment of the Nordic race in the Baltic regions was due to the fact that the striking appearance of the blond type gave an advantage in the struggle for mates. At any rate it does not appear that blondness has any climatically adaptive value.

Whatever value may inhere in these race characters as physical and biological determinants of survival, they appear to be without direct cultural significance. Racial stocks are mixed in all nationalistic groups, and groups of similar ethnic composition have made very different degrees of advancement. It does not appear to be possible to interpret culture racially. Race is a physical concept; the problems involved are physical and biological. This fact must be clearly understood and definitely recognized in order to avoid the endless confusion that has characterized discussions of both theoretical and practical problems of race and culture.

THE SOCIOLOGICAL IMPORTANCE OF THE MARKS OF RACE

The recognition of race as a biological concept does not, however, lessen its significance for problems of social reality. It changes the statement of the problem and makes it possible to understand it in a way that is not

possible so long as such distinctions are not made. There are problems of race that are distinctly and exclusively sociological just as there are others that are definitely and exclusively biological. A first step in clear thinking is the rigid separation of the two, and the establishment of the relation that exists between them.

In the contacts of peoples the external marks play an important rôle. They are the visible and obvious signs of group membership. In the primitive situation they are the danger signals that distinguish friend from enemy. So important are they that, in the absence of natural marks that readily distinguish tribal groups, primitive peoples and others have found it advantageous to provide artificial signs for purposes of easy identification. A scarified skin, a painted body, a distinctive dress, and the like serve, especially in times of war and group danger, other than ornamental purposes; they are the visible symbol of the friend and tribal member.

In the slave type of social organization, obvious advantages inhere in the fact of racial difference, As a rational and social being, man is obliged to justify his behavior before the social consciousness of his age, and justification of slavery is easy in proportion as race or other difference makes possible the exclusion of the slave from the human category. In primitive morality, the man of alien blood has no rights. Any native repugnance to the system of human exploitation is more easily overcome when the members of the servile group are a physically divergent type; they seem less human, and sympathetic feelings that would interfere with the effective working of the system are less easily and less frequently aroused by the sufferings of racially contrasted persons. Discipline is easier. Escape is more difficult. The dangers of insurrection are less. The racial marks, if not sufficiently striking, may be supplemented by branding or by other

forms of mutilation and by the imposition of a distinctive dress.

When an invading horde has conquered a foreign group and imposed itself as a ruling class, a difference in racial appearance is a factor of importance in the resulting political and social organization. The external mark of the conquered group becomes a convenient badge of servitude, or determines the individual social status. It serves also to justify the exploitation of the subject group, the conquered group being always looked upon as of inferior race. The lower and more miserable the subject group becomes as a result of the political order, the greater becomes the difference between the ruling and subject classes, and the clearer becomes the justification of the system. In every order of society, the ruling groups and classes justify the order by the same type of reasoning: by an inverted logic. The exploited classes or subject races are thought to be inherently inferior—the status being assumed to be the result of an essential inferiority. If race differences exist in such a political order they reinforce the plausibility of the theory on which the political oppression rests. These class and race discriminations remain as a part of the social order until assimilation of the contrasted cultures and the amalgamation of the conquered and conquerors blurs and finally obliterates the distinguishing marks of race and culture.

In the contact of peoples of different cultures or on different culture levels, racial differences are immediately important. Skin color or other obvious mark becomes a symbol to designate cultural as well as racial and nationalistic differences. The concept of race is associated with the type of culture and the latter interpreted in terms of race. In virtually every country of the modern colonial world, slavery of the natives is more or less openly at the basis of the economic order and is justified in terms of the anthropological doctrine which colonial administration

has everywhere endorsed. The racial inferiority of the culturally retarded natives is assumed; slavery under white domination is asserted to operate to their welfare, to be preferable to the alternative and prior social conditions.

In any such bi-racial situation the physical and racial marks of the individual determine a differential treatment. One racial group is characterized by a backward culture, and the status of the individual is determined by the fact of race. The characteristics of the individuals of the race are assumed to be those common to the racial group to which they belong. The external marks serve to classify the individuals, to put them in a certain category. Their place and rôle in the society are determined not by their personal worth, intelligence, or other individual or personal traits but by the fact that the external signs serve the purposes of easy classification.

The individual in the situation is thus an unfree person. The external racial marks serve as a basis for social distinctions; consequently they determine the type and number of social contacts. The individual is restricted in his educational and industrial opportunities, in his associations, and in his place and manner of life. By virtue of a distinctive appearance, he is more or less completely isolated from cultural contacts and a certain, usually a profound, cultural retardation is inevitable.

Race thus has a profound sociological significance. Aside from all questions of a biological nature, it is made the symbol of cultural status and thus serves to justify the exploitation of the weaker group with the inevitable political and cultural consequences. Being a symbol of cultural status it serves automatically to classify individuals, so to retard their advance by limiting their freedom and determining the cultural values to which they have access. In this sense the facts of culture may depend upon the facts of race.

The sociological problems exist apart from the questions of racial origins, racial classifications, the biological effects of amalgamation, and other problems of importance and of interest to biological and anthropological students. The social and sociological problems that arise in consequence of racial differences—educational and cultural retardation, race consciousness, nationality, and the like—are problems which concern the students of social phenomena. They do not fall within the orbit of interest of the biological student and he has no methodological technique by means of which he may approach them.

THE SOCIOLOGICAL NATURE OF THE PRESENT STUDY

In the present volume we are not concerned with race as a physical and biological fact. These facts are of interest and receive attention only when and to the extent that they condition or determine social contacts and so determine the status of the individual and the rôle that he plays in the social situation. We are thus concerned with race as a sociological and as a social problem, with the results of racial differences as they find expression in culture, and with the social and cultural effects of the peculiar contacts determined by the fact of race.

The American Negroes are not a race in the anthropological sense; they are a population group, highly mixed in racial stock and ancestry. But by virtue of a distinctive appearance they tend to occupy a definite and restricted social status. As a result of this status they possess certain characteristic mental attitudes and social traits. Because of their status and the consequent social characteristics, they create in the American situation a group of social problems that are subject to independent study. These problems and characteristics are social, not biological. It is with these social and sociological race problems that we are here concerned.

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CHAPTER III

THE NEGRO POPULATION

THE NUMBER AND GROWTH OF THE NEGRO POPULATION

As enumerated at the Fourteenth Census, the Negro population of the United States—including persons of mixed white and Negro parentage as well as persons of unmixed Negro blood—numbered nearly ten and one-half million persons. This was approximately double the number of such persons enumerated fifty years previously, about six times the number enumerated in 1820, and nearly fourteen times the total number at the time of the first enumeration in 1790. Previous to 1790 the numbers are known only for certain regions and then chiefly by estimates made at irregular intervals.

The rate of growth of the Negro population in the first two census periods was in part attributable to the continued importation of slaves. After the first decade of the century, however, the net immigration or emigration of Negroes has been inconsiderable. The population has grown by natural increase—that is, an increase due to an excess of births over deaths—and consequently the rate of growth has not been subject to violent fluctuations. It is possible, therefore, in the light of subsequent enumerations to discover and discount certain inaccuracies in earlier enumerations. When such revisions have been made the increase is seen to have been a regular and consistent growth. The following table gives the total number of Negroes, according to the revised figures, in the population of the United States at each of the fourteen decennial censuses.

NEGRO POPULATION OF THE UNITED STATES

Year	*Number*
1790	757,208
1800	1,002,037
1810	1,377,808
1820	1,771,656
1830	2,328,642
1840	2,873,648
1850	3,638,808
1860	4,441,830
1870 [a]	5,392,172
1880	6,580,793
1890 [b]	7,760,000
1900	8,833,994
1910	9,827,763
1920	10,463,131

[a] Estimated. Enumeration figure 4,880,009.
[b] Estimated. Enumeration figure 7,448,676.

As may be seen from this table, the growth of the Negro population has been continuous and, for the entire period, very rapid. The rate of increase was particularly high in the earlier decades. The numbers approximately doubled in the first twenty-five year period and quadrupled in a little over half a century. Following 1840 the numbers doubled in the space of approximately thirty-five years. In the half century between 1870 and 1920, the numbers less than doubled.

THE RELATIVE INCREASE OF THE NEGRO AND WHITE ELEMENTS OF THE POPULATION

Rapid as has been the growth of the Negro population it has at all times been less rapid than that of the whites. In the earlier decades the native white stock had a very high rate of natural increase. There has, however, been a rapid decline in the rate of increase and in the later decades it has not in all probability materially exceeded the rate of increase of the Negro people. But the natural

increase of the white population has been supplemented by an immigration that has at times been very large. It is this influx of foreign stocks and their natural increase in America that accounts in major part for the more rapid growth of the white population.

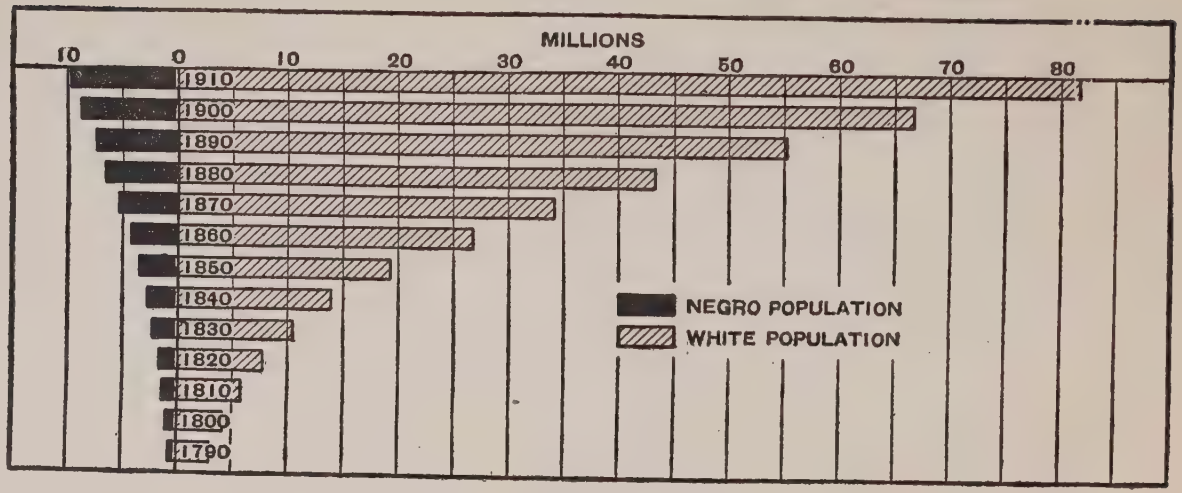
The following table shows the rate of increase of the Negro and the white racial elements of the population and the relative numerical importance of the Negro as compared with the white at each enumeration period.

RELATIVE INCREASE OF THE NEGRO AND WHITE POPULATION: 1790-1920

Year	*Per Cent Increase of White Population*	*Per Cent Increase of Negro Population*	*Per Cent of Population Negro*	*Negroes per 1,000 Whites*
1790	—	—	19.3	239
1800	35.8	32.3	18.9	233
1810	36.1	37.5	19.0	235
1820	34.2	28.6	18.4	225
1830	33.9	31.4	18.1	221
1840	34.7	23.4	16.8	202
1850	37.7	26.6	15.7	186
1860	37.7	24.2	14.1	165
1870	27.5	21.4	13.5	157
1880	26.4	23.2	13.1	152
1890	26.7	16.2	12.3	142
1900	21.2	17.1	11.6	132
1910	22.3	11.5	10.7	120
1920	16.0	6.3	9.9	111

It is evident from these percentages that while the number of Negroes in the population has increased their relative numerical importance has declined. At the first enumeration they comprised 19.3 per cent of the population; at the last enumeration this per cent had fallen to 9.9. While the rate of increase of each race has declined, that of the Negro peoples has been by far the more rapid. The facts as to number and increase of the two races are illustrated in the accompanying diagram which gives, absolutely and relatively, the facts for each.

NEGRO AND WHITE POPULATION AT EACH CENSUS: 1790-1910.



Question as to the probable future growth of the Negro population in the United States has been a fruitful field of speculation. Certain persons, under the impression that the Negroes were increasing more rapidly than the white population, have foretold a time when the white would be outnumbered and displaced. Others with equal confidence have declared the Negro group to be declining and predicted its present extinction or absorption. Such predictions are seldom more than the expression of a fear or the voicing of a hope. In the present absence of fundamental analysis of the factors controlling population growth, there is no basis for prediction. If the rate of increase of the first two decades of the century be projected without change through the century it would yield over twenty million Negroes. The rate will probably not be maintained and the number at the end of the century will probably fall far below the maximum limit of twenty million.

THE GEOGRAPHIC DISTRIBUTION OF THE NEGROES

The geographic distribution of the Negro element of the population is and has been at all times extremely irregular. The original centers of the population within the United States were the states of Virginia, Maryland, North Carolina, and South Carolina. At the time of the first census enumeration 87 per cent of the total Negro population was in these four states. Subsequently the slave population of the Lower South increased and by the time of the Civil War the South Atlantic, the East South Central, and the West South Central divisions contained 92 per cent of all the Negroes in the United States.

The Civil War which freed the Negroes from the necessity of remaining in any particular section of the country had no appreciable influence on their geographic distribution. Indeed, the tendency toward a greater con-

centration in the South continued. The center of gravity of the Negro population in 1790 was near Petersburg, Virginia. For 120 years it moved south and west, at first rapidly and in the later decades slowly, until in 1910 it was located in the northeastern part of Alabama 478 miles southwest of the original location. At that time, fifty years after the Emancipation, 89 per cent of the Negroes resided in the South.

The demand for unskilled labor in the industrial centers of the North during the European War gave rise to a considerable long-distance migration and to some redistribution of the Negro population. The center of population for the first time moved north and east. In 1920 it was located nine and one-half miles east and nineteen and one-half miles north of its location in 1910. But even after this migration 85.2 per cent of the Negro population was still in the Southern states. The present distribution of the Negro population by geographic divisions is shown in the following table.

DISTRIBUTION OF THE NEGRO POPULATION OF THE UNITED STATES: 1920

Division	*Population*
New England	79,051
Middle Atlantic	600,183
East North Central	514,554
West North Central	278,521
South Atlantic	4,325,120
East South Central	2,523,532
West South Central	2,063,579
Mountain	30,801
Pacific	47,790

The concentration of the Negro population is not adequately appreciated, however, until it is examined in terms of smaller geographic units and in terms of the percentage of Negroes in the population. In fifteen of the states the Negroes are less than one per cent of the population

and in sixteen other states they comprise less than five per cent of the total population. Of the remaining states, six have from five to twenty-five per cent of their population Negro; nine states and the District of Columbia have between twenty-five and fifty per cent Negro; and in two states, Mississippi and South Carolina, the percentage of Negroes is over fifty. The percentage distribution of the Negroes is shown graphically on the accompanying map.

The states with a high per cent of Negroes in the population and the per cent the Negroes formed of the total population of these states at the last three enumerations are as follows:

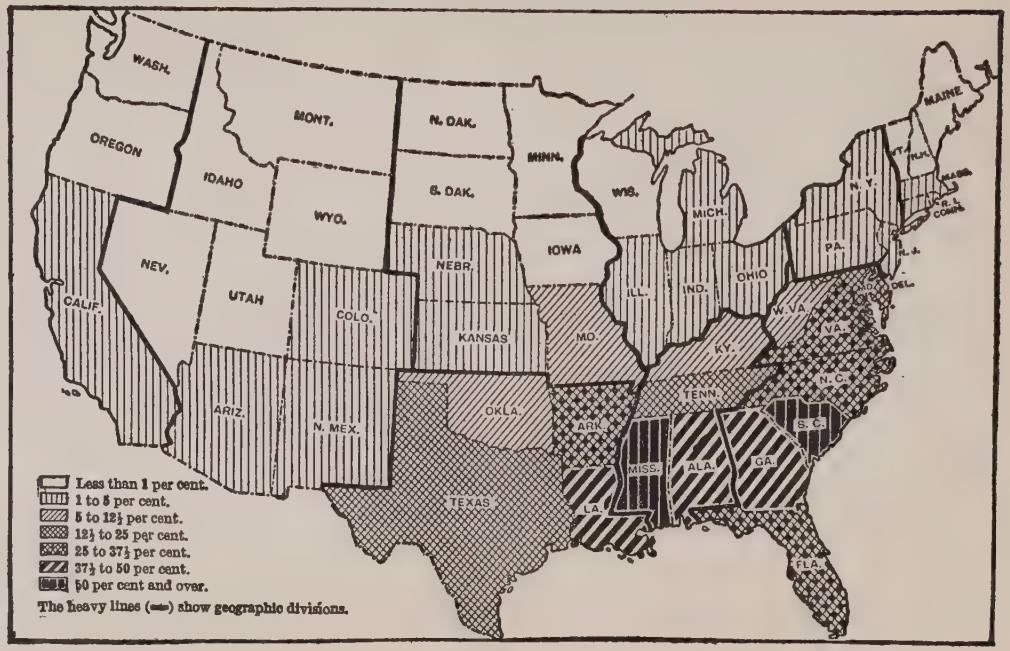
STATES WITH LARGE NEGRO POPULATION

	1900	*1910*	*1920*
Alabama	45.2	42.5	38.4
Arkansas	28.0	28.1	27.0
Delaware	16.6	15.4	13.6
Dist. of Col.	31.1	28.5	25.1
Florida	43.7	41.0	34.0
Georgia	46.7	45.1	41.7
Louisiana	47.1	43.1	38.9
Maryland	19.8	17.9	16.9
Mississippi	58.5	56.2	52.2
North Carolina	33.0	31.6	29.8
South Carolina	58.4	55.2	51.4
Tennessee	23.8	21.7	19.3
Texas	20.4	17.7	15.9
Virginia	35.6	32.6	29.9

In certain of the counties of the "Black Belt" states the percentage of Negroes is much higher than in any of the states as a whole. In approximately one-quarter of the area of the state of Mississippi the Negroes comprise over seventy-five per cent of the population and a similar ratio exists in some counties in each of the states of Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, and South Carolina. For example, in Issequena County, Mississippi, 90.7 per cent of the 7,618 inhabitants are Negroes; in Tunica County, Mississippi,

PER CENT OF NEGROES IN TOTAL POPULATION, BY STATES: 1920.

[District of Columbia, 25.1 per cent, not shown separately on the map.]



89.0 per cent of the 20,386 inhabitants are Negroes; and in Tensas Parish, Louisiana, the total population is 13,-854 of whom 85.3 per cent are Negroes.

As pointed out above, the Negro population has at all periods been concentrated in a relatively limited area. In each of the enumerations before 1870 between 91 and 93 per cent of the Negroes resided in the Southern states. Owing chiefly to the migration this per cent had fallen to 89.0 per cent in 1910 and to 85.1 per cent in 1920.

The migration of the Negroes, however, has been somewhat larger than the statistical summaries usually indicate. There has been a migration of Negroes into as well as out of the South and the two movements have in large part counteracted each other. But in the period between 1916-1920 the movement of Negroes out of the South was not only large but it was in large part a long-distance migration and for this reason had a pronounced effect upon the center of gravity of the Negro population. The migrants came from Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia, and Florida and in smaller numbers from Texas, Arkansas, Tennessee, and North and South Carolina. They went in largest numbers to the industrial centers of the North and East.

But in spite of the large migration of this period, over 80 per cent of the Negroes were in 1920 living in the state of their birth. The number is only a little less than it was at the two previous enumerations. In 1900, 15.6 per cent of the Negroes were living in other states than those in which they were born; in 1910 the per cent was 16.6; and in 1920 it was 19.9.

The Negroes born in the North and West have shown a greater tendency to change their place of residence than has been the case of the Negroes born in the South. Of these one-quarter, 27.6 per cent, are living in other states than those in which they were born. Of those born in the states of the Upper South 24.8 per cent were living out-

side the state of birth. Of the Negroes born in the Lower South only 16.2 per cent were living in other states than those in which they were born. The following table indicates that the War did not so much increase Negro migration as to change its direction and distance.

NEGROES BORN IN THE SOUTH AND LIVING OUTSIDE THE STATE OF BIRTH: 1910 AND 1920

Residence	*1910*	*1920*
North and West	30.0	42.2
Southern States East and North of the State of Birth	17.5	14.9
Southern States West and South of the State of Birth	52.3	42.9

The exodus of Negroes from the South during the War period took on the form of a somewhat spectacular mass movement and so attracted a widespread popular interest. The significance of the movement has aroused much discussion and difference of opinion. On the one hand it has been rather emphatically asserted that the movement was merely a temporary dislocation due to the war conditions and indicative of nothing more. On the other hand it has been asserted with perhaps equal dogmatism to be symptomatic and to foretell a movement of the Negroes that will tend to equalize their numbers in various states. The factors involved are such as to make prediction hazardous. It is to be anticipated that as the Negroes become more literate they will become more mobile. The migration itself will in general operate to attract or repel more migrants to the extent of the success of the migrants in the new situations. In turn, the success of these migrants, for the most part unskilled laborers, will turn in large part upon the immigration policy of the national government. In any long time view of the case, the development of the South must be included as a factor. This region is still one of rela-

tively undeveloped resources and of almost limitless agricultural possibility. A relatively slight modification of conditions would make it one of the most attractive spots in the world to a peasant people.

THE URBANIZATION OF THE NEGRO PEOPLE

Of more significance than the interstate migration is the movement to cities. This is, more than the interstate movement, a development of recent decades. The Negroes and particularly the Southern Negroes have been essentially a rural population. But the demand for unskilled laborers in industry in the last decades, reinforced by the general restlessness characteristic of the times, has attracted large numbers of Negroes to the cities. In consequence, the Negro population of urban communities has increased rapidly while the rural Negro population has declined. The rapidity with which this element of the population is ceasing to be rural may be seen from the following table which shows, separately for the United States and the South, the percentage of urban and rural Negroes at the time of the last four enumerations.

PERCENTAGE OF NEGROES, URBAN AND RURAL: 1890, 1900, 1910, 1920

Year	*United States*		*The South*	
	Per Cent Urban	*Per Cent Rural*	*Per Cent Urban*	*Per Cent Rural*
1890	19.4	80.6	15.3	84.7
1900	22.7	77.3	17.2	82.8
1910	27.4	72.6	21.2	78.8
1920	34.0	66.0	25.3	74.7

The relative increase of the two types of communities in the recent decades is remarkable. The increase of the urban population has been constant and rapid; the rate of rural increase has declined and in the last decade has

shown an actual decrease not only in the South but in the country as a whole. The percentage increase, or decrease, in the last three decades is shown in the following tabulation.

PERCENTAGE INCREASE OR DECREASE OF THE URBAN AND RURAL NEGRO POPULATION: 1890-1920

Decades	*United States*		*The South*	
	Per Cent Urban	*Per Cent Rural*	*Per Cent Urban*	*Per Cent Rural*
1890-1900	35.4	13.6	32.0	14.5
1900-1910	34.0	4.5	35.8	5.1
1910-1920	32.3	—3.3	21.3	—3.4

In 1920 the Negroes comprised 9.9 per cent of the total population of the country; of the urban population they comprised 6.6 per cent; and of the rural population 13.4 per cent. The per cent they comprised of the urban population was practically unchanged from the two previous enumerations. But their per cent of the total population as well as of the rural population declined. The following table gives the total number in the United States and the numbers, urban and rural, together with the percentages they formed of the total population for the last three enumerations:

NEGRO POPULATION, URBAN AND RURAL: 1900-1910-1920

Year	*Number*			*Per Cent*		
	Total	*Urban*	*Rural*	*Total*	*Urban*	*Rural*
1900	8,833,994	2,002,008	6,831,986	11.6	6.6	15.0
1910	9,827,763	2,684,797	7,142,966	10.7	6.4	14.3
1920	10,463,131	3,559,473	6,903,658	9.9	6.6	13.4

In practically all the large cities of the United States there has been an increase in the Negro element. This

increase in the decade ending in 1910 was in harmony with a similar tendency of the white population. But the increase during the war decade was far in excess of any tendency toward urbanization previously manifested by this element of the population. The growth was particularly rapid in certain of the large industrial centers of the North and East.

Increase in Negro Population of Certain Large Cities

City	*1900-1910*		*1910-1920*	
	Number	*Per Cent*	*Number*	*Per Cent*
New York	31,043	51.2	60,758	66.3
Philadelphia	21,846	34.9	49,770	58.9
Chicago	13,953	46.3	65,355	148.2
Birmingham	35,730	215.6	17,925	34.3
St. Louis	8,444	23.8	25,894	58.9
Norfolk	4,809	23.8	18,353	73.3
Jacksonville	13,057	80.4	12,227	41.7
Detroit	1,630	39.6	35,097	611.3
Pittsburgh	5,268	25.9	12,102	47.2
Indianapolis	5,885	36.9	12,862	59.0
Cleveland	2,460	41.1	26,003	307.8
Cincinnati	5,157	35.6	10,440	53.2

Despite the movement of large numbers to the cities in the recent decades, the mass of the Negro population still lives in the rural districts. In most of the large industrial cities of the North they form a relatively minor part of the population. New York City, Washington, Chicago, Baltimore, and New Orleans are the only cities with a Negro population of over 100,000. In many of the Southern cities, while the actual number of Negroes is less, they form a larger percentage of the total population. In some of the smaller cities they number over fifty per cent of the total. The following large Southern cities have a high percentage of Negroes.

PERCENTAGE OF NEGROES IN THE TOTAL POPULATIONS OF SELECTED SOUTHERN CITIES: 1920

City	*Per Cent Negro in the Total Population*
Charleston, South Carolina	47.5
Savannah, Georgia	47.1
Montgomery, Alabama	45.6
Jacksonville, Florida	45.5
Macon, Georgia	43.6
Augusta, Georgia	43.0
Birmingham, Alabama	39.3
Mobile, Alabama	39.3
Memphis, Tennessee	37.7

THE SEX COMPOSITION OF THE NEGRO POPULATION

The sex distribution of the Negro people in America is irregular and shows some peculiar characteristics. The figures for the total Negro population in 1920 gave 992 males for each 1,000 females. In 1910 the ratio was 989 males for each 1,000 females, and in 1900 the number was 986 males to each 1,000 females. A similar excess of females has appeared in each enumeration since 1840. This excess of females is of course an exception to the rule. In the population of the United States men are in excess of women in the ratio of 1,040 to 1,000. Each of the other elements of the population with the exception of the native white group of foreign or mixed parentage shows a considerable masculinity. And in the case of the group of foreign and mixed parentage the femininity is to be readily accounted for in terms of errors in classification.

As between the rural and urban Negro population the women are in excess in the urban and the men in the rural situation. This is similar to the urban-rural sex distribution of the white population and is explained by the greater short-distance migration of women than of

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men. The following table brings out the differences in this respect.

NEGRO MALES TO 1,000 NEGRO FEMALES

Year	*Total*	*Urban*	*Rural*
1900	98.6	87.8	102.1
1910	98.9	90.7	102.1
1920	99.2	95.4	101.2

The sex distribution by age is strikingly irregular. The excess of females appears at all ages but is greatest in the age-group 20-24 years. Here the females are in excess of the males in the proportion of 1,000 to 879. In the urban districts the excess of females in the early adult years is 1,000 females to 779 males.

The excess of females is a characteristic of the mixed-blood part of the Negro population. In the black section of the race the males are in slight excess in all sections of the country. But in the mulatto division the females are in excess in all sections except the West where long-distance migration has led to a slight masculinity. The excess of mulatto women is particularly marked in the urban centers, the excess being almost ten to eight. The following tabulation shows the contrast in a striking way.

NEGRO AND MULATTO MALES TO 1,000 FEMALES FOR THE URBAN AND RURAL POPULATIONS

Classification	*Urban*	*Rural*
Total Negro Population	908	1,021
Black Negroes	947	1,043
Mixed-blood Negroes	810	931

In explanation of this somewhat remarkable sex distribution it is possible to resort to the idea that the cross breeding produces an excess of females. But it seems unnecessary to advance this order of explanation. The

reasons for the facts seem to lie in part in accidental omissions from the count, which would be greater in the case of men than of women, and in inaccuracies resulting from an imperfect classification. But of more importance than either, perhaps, is the annual loss to the race that results from light-colored mulattoes changing their racial status and passing as white men. A considerable number of light-colored individuals, as they come to early manhood, move to new localities and report themselves as white. The number of light mulattoes who pass temporarily into the white race is much larger in the case of men than of women.

THE AGE DISTRIBUTION OF THE NEGROES

The age distribution of a population is important. The age ratios are normally determined by the birth and death rates, and a high percentage of the population in the early age groups suggests either a rapid natural increase or a short average duration of life. Also, the social and psychological characteristics of the group are in part dependent upon the age factor.

The table on page 54 allows a comparison of the Negro distribution with that of the white population of native parentage in 1910 and 1920, and a comparison of the distribution for each group at the two enumerations.

The medium age of the Negro population—that is, the age at which the population divides into two equal groups, the number younger being exactly the same as the number older—is lower than that of the white population. The medium age of the whites is of course affected by the age distribution of the foreign born relatively few of whom are in the younger ages. In 1910, for example, the median age of the native whites was 21.4 years as against 24.4 years for the total white population. In the

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION BY AGE GROUPS: 1910 AND 1920

Age Groups	*Negro*		*Native White of Native Parentage*	
	1910	*1920*	*1910*	*1920*
Under 5 years.....	12.9	10.9	13.2	12.6
5 to 9 years.....	12.7	12.1	11.8	11.9
10 to 14 years.....	11.8	11.8	10.8	11.1
15 to 19 years.....	10.8	10.4	10.3	9.6
20 to 44 years.....	37.3	38.2	35.6	35.9
45 years and on	14.3	16.4	18.1	18.8

case of both the Negroes and the whites there has been a slight increase in the median age. The increase in each case is probably due in some part to a decline in the mortality rate but certainly in part also to the decline in the birth rate. Each tends to raise the median age: the declining death rate by increasing the number in the upper age groups, the declining birth rate by reducing the number in the younger age groups. The following table shows the significant facts in regard to the median age of the Negro and the white populations.

MEDIAN AGE IN YEARS OF NEGROES AND WHITES: 1900-1910-1920

Race and Year		*Both Sexes*	*Males*	*Females*
1900	Negro	19.4	19.5	19.4
	White	23.4	23.8	22.9
1910	Negro	20.8	21.1	20.6
	White	24.4	24.9	23.9
1920	Negro	22.3	22.8	22.0
	White	25.6	26.1	25.1

The age distribution of the Negro population shows a considerable range of variation in different sections of the country. The number of children under 20 years comprise 50.1 per cent of the Negro population in the South, 31.8 per cent in the North, and 25.7 per cent in the West.

The proportion in the South is slightly above and that in the North and West markedly below that of the Negro population as a whole. In the older age groups the proportion in the South is below and that of the North and West above the average of the whole country. In the middle age groups, 35 to 44 years, the percentage for the total Negro population is 11.1, for the South 10.4 per cent, for the North 16.4 per cent, and for the West 19.3 per cent. Some of the variations observed may be due to sectional differences in the birth and death rates. But the chief causal factor doubtless lies in the facts of Negro migration. The effects of changes of residence are chiefly to be seen in the regions where the number of Negroes is small since the migrants are there, relatively to the whole population, most important. Consequently the age disturbances appear chiefly in the North and West where the numbers of the race are comparatively small.

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF THE NEGRO POPULATION BY AGE GROUPS: 1910

Age Period	*United States*	*South*	*North*	*West*
Under 5 years	12.9	13.4	8.1	6.4
5 to 9 years	12.7	13.3	7.7	6.1
10 to 14 years	11.8	12.3	7.6	6.1
15 to 19 years	10.8	11.1	8.4	7.1
20 to 24 years	10.5	10.4	11.1	10.4
25 to 29 years	9.0	8.6	12.1	13.1
30 to 34 years	6.8	6.4	10.2	11.9
35 to 44 years	11.1	10.4	16.4	19.3
45 to 54 years	7.2	6.9	9.6	11.3
55 to 64 years	4.0	3.9	4.8	4.8
65 years and over	3.0	2.9	3.5	2.9
Age unknown	0.3	0.3	0.4	0.7

A similar variation in age composition appears from state to state. Where the total Negro population is small the entrance or departure of a small number of persons of a certain age group may profoundly disturb the normal age distribution. The median age is lower in each of

the Southern than in any of the Northern states. The states with a high median age are those where the proportion of migrants is high. The range is from 17.5 years as the median age in South Carolina to 33.1 years as the median age in the State of Oregon.

The age distribution is likewise affected by the cityward migration. This movement affects chiefly those persons in the middle years of life; members of both the younger and the older age groups remain behind. Consequently, the urban population is made up in much larger part than is the rural of persons in the productive years of life. In 1910, 36.6 per cent of the urban Negroes were in the ages 25 to 44 as against 23.2 per cent of the rural. One was above and the other below the average of the Negro population as a whole, which was 26.8 per cent. The more disturbed ratio of the urban population is due to the fact that the total number of urban Negroes is less than the total number of rural Negroes and so the migration to the cities upsets the ratios more profoundly there than in the rural regions they leave. The differences in birth and death rates between the Negro urban and rural communities also affect at least slightly the ratios. The essential facts appear in the following tabulation.

Distribution by Age Classes of Negroes of Urban and Rural Parentage: 1920

Age Period	*Urban*		*Rural*	
	Negro	*Native White of Native Parentage*	*Negro*	*Native White of Native Parentage*
Per cent: 1920.....	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00
Under 5 years.....	7.5	11.4	12.7	13.5
5 to 9 years.....	8.2	10.3	14.1	13.1
10 to 14 years.....	8.2	9.5	13.7	12.2
15 to 19 years.....	8.7	9.0	11.2	10.0
20 to 44 years.....	49.5	40.7	32.4	32.4
45 years and over	17.5	18.9	15.8	18.7

THE AMALGAMATION OF THE RACES

The enumeration statistics suggest rather than measure the degree of racial amalgamation. The terms "black" and "mulatto" do not correspond with any nicety to differences in physical characters. Rather few of the American Negroes are black and by no means all the dark-skinned individuals are pure-blood Negroes. The term mulatto is used in a generic sense to include all persons, except full-blood Negroes, with any perceptible trace of Negro blood. It comprehends all grades and degrees of intermixture from the Negro with the smallest perceptible trace of white admixture to the white person with any perceptible trace of Negro admixture. The number of mulattoes is not, therefore, a measure of the extent to which the races have mingled. The one effort on the part of the Census Bureau to measure more accurately the extent of the racial intermixture was admittedly not a success. Equal traces of Negro and white blood do not show equally in different individuals. Moreover, the definitions of the terms black and mulatto have not been the same at the different enumerations.

The table on page 58 gives the census data available in regard to the numbers and percentages of black and mulatto elements in the population at the different enumerations when the distinction was made.

Owing to enumeration difficulties and inaccuracies the increase of the mixed-blood element of the population appears to be highly irregular. But aside from the irregularity the table shows an increase in the percentage of mulattoes. This would naturally be the case inasmuch as the group grows by natural increase resulting from the union of mulattoes with mulattoes as well as by the increase that results from the union of whites with both the black and the mulatto members of the Negro group. The increase of the full-blood Negroes is restricted to

THE NEGRO POPULATION: BLACK AND MULATTO ELEMENTS

Census Year	*The Negro Population*				
	Total	*Black*	*Mulatto*		*Mulattoes to 1,000 Blacks*
			Number	*Per Cent*	
1850.....	3,638,808	3,233,057	405,751	11.2	126
1860.....	4,441,830	3,853,467	588,363	13.2	153
1870.....	4,880,009	4,295,960	584,049	12.0	136
1890.....	[a] 7,488,676	6,337,980	1,132,060	15.2	179
1910.....	9,827,763	7,777,077	2,050,686	20.9	264
1920.....	10,463,131	8,802,577	1,660,554	15.9	189

[a] Includes 18,636 Negroes enumerated in Indian territory, not distinguished as black and mulattto.

the natural increase resulting from the union of blacks with blacks and to the offspring of black and mulatto unions where the trace of white blood in the offspring is too small to be perceptible. The immigration of full-blood Negroes is a negligible factor in the numerical increase. The increasing proportion of mulattoes may and at least in part does show the dissemination of the white blood already within the race rather than a continuous infusion of white blood.

The physical characters of the Negro population are thus being changed by the gradual dissemination of the white blood already in the race. As this process goes on, the increase of the mixed-blood group at the expense of the full-blood group, the Negro population becomes more and more a mulatto population. It is variously estimated that one-third, one-half, or even three-fourths of the American Negroes already show some larger or smaller trace of intermixture but which is in many cases so slight as to escape the notice of enumerators. As this intermixture becomes more widespread, as the Negro type is modified by traces of white blood imperceptible to common observation, there is a shift in the basis on which comparison is made. The standard of comparison is the

full-blood Negro. But as the type becomes modified by the spread of the white intermixture, there ceases to be a full-blood type. The darker members of the mixed-blood population become the basis for comparison and the contrast between the black and the mulatto becomes less sharp.

There is also an opposite force at work. Each year the mulatto group loses a larger or smaller number of its members through their disappearance into the white population. Many individuals whose percentage of Negro blood is only one-eighth or less are to all appearances white persons. In any region where the person and his ancestry are not known he may pass as a person of pure white ancestry. This matter of loss from the lighter end of the racial group has gone on for a very long time. Also, it tends to increase to the extent that the white blood becomes more general in the race by the intermixture of the whites and the mulattoes. It also becomes easier for light colored mulattoes to pass as white men as the fundamental characters of the white stock are modified by the tinge of Negro blood thus entering and by the immigration and amalgamation of stocks less sharply contrasted in physical type than were the older American type and the Negro peoples.

At each of the enumerations, the proportion of mulat-

Mulattoes in the Negro Population by Geographic Areas: 1850, 1870, 1890 and 1900

	1850		*1870*		*1890*		*1900*	
	Per Cent Mulatto	*Mulattoes to 1,000 Blacks*	*Per Cent Mulatto*	*Mulattoes to 1,000 Blacks*	*Per Cent Mulatto*	*Mulattoes to 1,000 Blacks*	*Per Cent Mulatto*	*Mulattoes to 1,000 Blacks*
United States.	11.2	126	12.0	136	15.2	179	20.9	264
The South ...	10.0	111	11.1	125	13.7	159	20.1	252
The North ...	24.8	329	20.3	255	28.0	390	26.6	363
The West ...	23.4	306	35.6	553	39.2	644	32.1	473

toes has been lowest in the South and, except in 1850, highest in the West. The essential facts for the first four mulatto enumerations are shown in the preceding table.

The percentages of the Negro population reported as of mixed blood in the enumerations of 1910 and 1920 are given in the following table by geographic divisions.

PER CENT MULATTO IN TOTAL NEGRO POPULATION: 1910, 1920

Division	*1920*	*1910*
United States	20.9	15.9
New England	33.4	19.4
Middle Atlantic	19.6	11.6
East North Central	33.2	20.7
West North Central	28.7	18.7
South Atlantic	20.8	16.1
East South Central	19.1	15.0
West South Central	20.1	15.5
Mountain	28.6	18.1
Pacific	34.7	29.3

The changing proportion may be accounted for at least in part in terms of migration. The relative loss in the percentage of mulattoes in the West in the decade ending in 1910 was due to a migration into these regions from the South where the percentage of black Negroes is high. Among the migrants the percentage of mulattoes is probably higher than is their percentage in the South but lower than their percentage in the West. The net result of the migration was thus to lower the percentage of mulattoes in the North and West. The increase of the two elements was unequal. From 1850 to 1910 the blacks increased 140.5 per cent and the mulattoes increased 405.4 per cent. In 1910 the number of blacks was less than two and one-half times as great as in 1850. The number of mulattoes, however, was more than five times as great in 1910 as in 1850.

In the South the relative increase of the two elements

was about the same. In the North and West the increase of mulattoes was less than in the South and the increase of blacks was greater than in the South. In the 60 year period the black element in the North and West increased 265.8 per cent while the mulatto element in the same regions increased 308 per cent. In the South the mulattoes increased 426.1 per cent between 1850 and 1910, while the black element increased only 131.6 per cent. In the period from 1890 to 1910 the increase of the black element in the South was 20.1 per cent; the increase in the mulatto element was 90.4 per cent. In the North during the same period the blacks increased 49.5 per cent and the mulattoes 39.2 per cent. In the West the increase of the blacks during the same period was 108.7 per cent and the increase of the mulattoes was 53.4 per cent.

The migration of the Negroes from the South into the North and West accounts for the relatively more rapid increase of the black element as compared with the increase of the mulatto element in these sections from 1890 to 1910. In 1890 the proportion of mulattoes in the Negro population of the South was 13.7 per cent; in the North it was 28.0 per cent—more than twice as great. If the blacks and the mulattoes among the migrants were in the same proportion as in the Southern Negro population, the effect of the migration would be to add relatively larger numbers to the black than to the mulatto elements of the North and West. As a matter of fact, it is probable that the percentage of mulattoes was somewhat larger among the migrants than in the general Negro population of the South but less than the ratio existing in the North and West, and hence operated to reduce the proportion of mulattoes in these regions.

In the earlier decades the selective nature of the migration on the basis of intermixture was greater than in the later. In the decades following the Civil War the mulatto element of the North increased more rapidly

than the black. For the black it was 39.9 per cent; for the mulatto it was 113.4 per cent. In these decades the migration of the mulattoes out of the South was pronounced. This mulatto exodus later declined. In the period from 1890 to 1910 the mulattoes in the North increased 39.2 per cent as against an increase of 113.4 per cent in the period from 1870 to 1890. The migration of mulattoes became less and the migration of the black Negroes greater.

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CHAPTER IV

RACIAL DIFFERENCES

INTRODUCTORY STATEMENT

It becomes necessary at this point to raise the question of comparative racial worth. If the races are substantially equal in native capacity, such differences as appear in their history or in their present status are evidently the result of causes that lie outside the hereditary equipment of the race and the analysis of environmental circumstances is essential to an understanding of historic achievement or of present cultural position. If hereditary racial inequalities exist, they would be reinforced by cultural factors having an hereditary origin and whatever the cultural differences that have appeared would be a resultant of heredity and overlying cultural forces operating on the whole in the same direction and consequently an analysis of environmental circumstance is an essential prerequisite to any estimate of the strength of the hereditary factor.

There is need for great care and guarded statement. The question is beset with peculiar difficulties since both the hereditary and the cultural factors are unknown quantities. The historical achievement or the present cultural status of any group—the thing objectively before us—is the end product of two interacting sets of causal factors both of which are indeterminate variables.

The question is also pregnant with immediate practical implications. Any policy in regard to culturally backward racial groups, that is to rise above the ethical level

of the exploitation of their vital power, hinges upon this point. If certain races and groups of men are inferior in inherited capacity to other more cultured races and groups, social policy demands that they be treated in considerable degree apart. In a political democracy, for example, they would of necessity be excluded permanently from many important governmental functions. Any comprehensive population policy will turn upon this point. Any governmental practice in regard to foreign immigration implies a decision in regard to the comparative racial worth of those who would come. Every educational régime operates consciously or naïvely upon some theory of relative racial and individual capacity. Any theory of racial inferiority gives a basis and a justification for the cultural exclusion and exploitation of the inferior, just as any theory of racial identity justifies their cultural inclusion in the body politic and their incorporation into the population stock. Error in either direction is fraught with human consequences of sufficient magnitude that extreme caution becomes an imperative moral obligation of the scientist who approaches the problem.

In spite of the obvious difficulty of arriving at an objectively valid judgment and of the practical consequences that may result from premature pronouncement, there is an almost unanimous prejudging of the problem. The general popular opinion is doubtless to the effect that innate racial differences—physical, temperamental, mental and moral—not only exist but are so marked as to make possible a hierarchy of races in terms of development along the scale of organic evolution. Certain racial groups are believed not only to be backward in culture but also to be so lacking in natural capacity that they are predestined to remain culturally inferior to the final extermination of the stock. In America this doctrine has taken the extreme form of a belief in the innate superiority of the native-born American and especially in the mental

superiority of the Nordic stock—the so-called North European blond.

The popular bias is of course more or less inevitable. Like most problems of social reality, the gross phenomena are matters of direct observation and the naïve person is prone to assume an understanding on the basis of a certain degree of acquaintanceship and familiarity. But there is nothing so misleading as direct observation; for numberless generations people believed that the earth was flat and stationary and that the sun revolved about it. This was a common sense generalization based on direct observation. It was a self-evident truth; everyone could see that it was so. In a somewhat similar way persons observe certain facts of race and it seems obvious common sense to recognize the superiority of some to others. There has come to be a very large body of this folk-lore—that is, common sense generalization—which gets into the non-rational mental habits of persons and thus reinforces the natural fallacy inherent in all folk-reasoning. If we avoid the common sense illusion, racial superiority and inferiority is by no means a self-evident truth. But such avoidance is not usual. Many persons who would frankly recognize their inability to deal with a simple thing like the adjustment of a gas engine and call in a mechanic, assume their entire competence in the field of social phenomena. Matters that engage the attention of the scholar in the social field frequently present no problem to the untrained person: the facts and their meaning appear to be obvious. The tendency to common sense generalization on the basis of limited personal observation of the gross phenomena is not wholly confined to the untrained. The literature contains numberless examples of scholars, presumably competent in other fields, who have apparently lost all sense of scientific caution and regard for evidence when they have gone aside to discuss problems in the racial field. When the patter of

folk-lore is repeated by men of standing in other fields, the prestige of scholarship becomes a reinforcement of the common sense inaccuracy.

Another important source of error lies in the paradox that familiarity with the phenomenal matter is frequently a hindrance to logical thought. An emotional attitude arises out of the activity and decisions consequent upon a practical situation and opinion is founded in this emotional activity complex rather than upon an impartial examination and verification of the facts. By the familiar process of rationalization, a reasoned support for the opinion is subsequently found. That the belief in racial inequality frequently is a rationalization is evidenced by the profound feeling of certitude that accompanies the belief and by the emotional resistance to inquiry concerning its basis. Opinions which are held because they are true in the sense that they are verifiable do not arouse, when questioned, the emotional reactions that characteristically appear when religious ideas, family institutions, and other non-rationally founded practices and beliefs are under criticism. In such cases there is an uneasy sense that a critical examination may destroy the basis of a belief that we do not desire to have disturbed. It must be recognized, of course, that the fact that a belief is emotionally and not critically founded does not prove the belief to be untrue. A profound and passionate belief tells much about the person who holds the belief but it tells nothing concerning the truth or falsity of the belief which is held.

It is the belief in the innate and unalterable racial inferiority of the Negro to the white racial stocks that we propose to examine in some detail in the present chapter. The whole body of concrete material presented in the volume has of course a direct bearing upon the point, but the immediate interest centers on the present state of scientific opinion.

THE PHYSICAL DIFFERENCES BETWEEN RACES

The biological aspect of the problem has two phases: first, the physical structure of the two races with respect to their relative anatomical resemblance to the anthropoids, and second, the comparative nature of racial brain structure.

The generalized Negro type is distinguished by a number of well-marked physical characteristics. In stature the type is tall and, owing to the dolichocephalic head and the inward curvature of the lumbar vertebra, somewhat out of perpendicular. The arms, especially the forearms, are long and the legs slender and weak with undeveloped calves. The foot is broad and flat with larkspur heel. The head is dolichocephalic, the jaw prognathous, and the nasal index high. The skin color is dark. The hair is short, black, and spirally coiled.

A number of other physical characteristics are commonly noted. The knees frequently bend outward. The cranium is thick and massive, the forehead is receding. The zygomatic arches are large. The cheek bones are small. The cranial sutures are said to close somewhat earlier in the Negro than in other races. The lips are thick, tumid, everted. The nose is short and flat, broad at the extremity and depressed at the base, with wide nostrils and concave ridge. The great toe is protruding and somewhat prehensile. The skin is thick, soft and velvety, mostly hairless, and emits a characteristic, hircine odor. The eyes are large, round, and prominent with black iris and yellowish cornea. The brain weight is somewhat less than that of other races. The venous system is more highly developed.

The physical peculiarities of the Negro people are thus seen to be numerous and in some respects highly contrasted to those of other racial types. Question at once arises as to the evolutionary meaning of the characteristic

morphological characters. If the Negro in his anatomical features is more closely akin to the apes than is the white man there may be reason to believe that he represents a lower stage in organic development. This was the usual position of the physical anthropologists of the older school and among non-scientific men it is very commonly held today. The prognathous jaw, the cranial massiveness, the arm length, and the like are advanced as evidence that the Negro is a less highly developed form than is the white man and, on the evolutionary scale, stands somewhat more nearly related to the higher anthropoids.

In regard to this position several things may be said. In the first place, the general contention seems to show a somewhat inadequate and inaccurate conception of the evolutionary hypothesis as applied to man. That hypothesis does not hold the anthropoid apes, either the fossil or the living forms, to be the ancestral type from which man descended. There is of course a genetic relationship: the ancestry of each traces back to some preëxisting form that probably was neither man nor ape. Each of the living species represents a specialized divergent development. But we have inadequate evidence in which to anchor a belief that the general ancestral form was of ape-like rather than of human type, and consequently there is absence of evidence to support a belief that one race because of its anatomical structure is genetically closer than another to the common precursor of each.

But if this point be conceded, the things commonly presented as characterizing the Negro and placing him lower in the evolutionary scale do not seem to bear critical examination. The morphological characters do not appear to possess any deep meaning: they do not in general connote vitality nor a high or low place in the normal scale of development. Many of the characters most useful in distinguishing types of physical race are non-adaptive and

apparently useless. The nasal index, for example, is a very valuable racial mark but it has no zoönomic explanation. The hair formation, perhaps the most valuable of any single racial mark, appears to be wholly devoid of adaptive significance. Hence its persistence and hence its value in racial classification.

But if this evidence be admitted as significant it immediately appears that it is not consistent. The so-called morphological marks of inferiority are not the exclusive possession of any one race. In prognathism, cranial massiveness, receding forehead, arm length, slight development of the lower body, and in some other respects the Negro appears to be more nearly related than the white man to the higher anthropoids. But in other respects the white man appears to occupy a lower place on the developmental scale. Hairiness of body is an ape-like character and in this respect the white man is nearest to the apes and the Negro farthest removed. In the woolly character of his hair the Negro of all the races is least ape-like. The full, red, everted lips of the Negro are perhaps the most human of all physical characters, in the sense that they stand most markedly contrasted to the thin bloodless lips of the anthropoids.

Thus in some respects the Negro shows less development when measured by the degree of similarity to the anthropoids, than does the white man; in other respects the peculiarly human characteristics show a higher degree of development in the Negro. The only conclusion that is at present possible is that the persistent tendency to point morphological characters as evidence of a lower position on the organic scale of evolutionary development is not well grounded. The possession of so-called simian characters is not an evidence of inferiority or of a transition stage from beast to man. The possession of them does not correspond with any effort to classify races on a scale ascending from the ape-like progenitor. Races differ

in physical type but it may not, with our present knowledge, be asserted that one race is physically inferior or less advanced than another. Superiority and inferiority may be asserted only in regard to a specific peculiarity in a specified situation. This is not to be interpreted as asserting the physical equality of the races. What it does assert is that with regard to certain specific things the Negro is inferior to the white man, and in other specific things he is superior to the white man. Any general inferiority of one race to the other, if it exists at all, is simply a statistical average of the various specific superiorities and inferiorities of the two races. That a balancing of the peculiarities would show the Negro to be inferior is possible, but inferiority in this statistical sense, if it should be demonstrated, would seem to have no particular significance.

RACIAL DIFFERENCES IN BRAIN WEIGHT AND STRUCTURE

The comparative nature of racial brains, gross and microscopic, is the phase of the physical problem that is most directly significant. Any anatomical differences of this sort are generally assumed to bear some very direct relation to mental ability and capacity for civilization. The problem of comparative structure is difficult, the amount of data is limited, and any conclusions at the present time must be tentative. The classic papers by Mall and Bean, will serve the purpose in hand.

Dr. Bean made a comparative study of the brains of forty-nine American whites and one hundred and three American Negroes. He found the variations according to race to be marked and important. The brain weight of the Negro was less than that of the white; the frontal ends of the brains were found to be different in the two races, that of the Negro being smaller and more angular; the convolutions of the Negro brains were less elaborate,

the fissures less deep, and the relative amount of white matter not so great; and the front end of the corpus callosum was relatively less in the white brains. He found the differences to be so marked as to separate the Negro and the white brains almost completely into racial groups. Dr. Bean's conclusions have been widely quoted and very generally accepted as demonstrating Negro inferiority in brain weight and structure, and so, by implication, in mentality.

Dr. Mall submitted the conclusions of Dr. Bean to reexamination. He used in part the same brains but made use of more accurate projecting and measuring instruments. As a guard against any possible bias, in order to insure the greatest possible degree of scientific objectivity, all of the labels were concealed and the tracings and measurements made without his knowing the race or sex of the individuals from whom the brains were taken. The results of this more careful study were markedly different from those of the earlier investigation. The dividing line between the Negro and the white brains disappeared and while some constant differences appeared the brains were overlapping and the racial differences appeared to be small if not negligible. The Negro and white brains were intermingled above the line that separated them in Dr. Bean's study.

These and such other careful observations as have been made indicate that, from the standpoint of size and weight, the great majority of Negro and European brains show approximately the same range of variation, but that there are normal Negro brains which are smaller in size and lighter in weight than any normal European brains as yet measured, and that the brains of certain Europeans have been found to exceed in size and weight any normal Negro brains so far reported. The result is that Negro brains average slightly less in size and weight than those

of Europeans. But the number of examinations has not been large and the degree of variability is high.

In making any inference in regard to relative Negro and white mentality from the measurements, several facts need to be borne in mind. The Negro brains measured are not known to be an unbiased sample of that racial group. Aside from the differences found at the extremes of the curve, Negro and European brains appear to be approximately alike in size and weight. But granting differences, the relation between mental capacity and brain weight does not appear to be a direct one. Some men of eminent ability have had brains of exceptional size and weight while the brain weight of other men of great ability has been relatively small. The range of brain size among men of exceptional ability seems to be the same as the range among groups unselected as to ability. The differences in size and weight between Negro and European brains may be significant but the present state of knowledge does not seem to warrant any generalization in regard to relative mentality on that basis.

When attention is turned from the size and weight of the organ to its gross and microscopic structure, there again appears to be some racial peculiarities. But the significance, if any, of the differences is not clear. There does not appear to be any present scientific justification for interpreting them as evidences of superiority or inferiority.

The present state of scientific evidence on the subject of anatomical differences may be summarized by the statement that while such differences exist they are not uniform and do not seem to indicate any marked superiority or inferiority of one race as compared with the other

THE CULTURAL RETARDATION OF THE NEGRO PEOPLES

A second patent difference between the races is their relative cultural status, and it is possible to approach the

question of relative capacity for civilization from this angle. This historic approach to the problem has often been attempted, but the paucity of results that have followed its use is evidence of the unsuspected difficulties that the method involves. The cultural differences are the things that immediately leap to the eye of the observer, and they have been made the basis for much easy inference. The Negro is backward. The division of the race in America does not on the average and in most respects measure up to the cultural standards of the white population; they are poor, ignorant, and religious. In the native environment, while not so devoid of culture as is commonly assumed, the race has not produced an indigenous civilization comparable with the independent cultures of Egypt, China, The Valley of the Euphrates, Mexico, and Peru.

In the historic approach, the relative cultural sterility of the Negro people is commonly taken as an evidence of incapacity: the racial ability is judged on the basis of the racial history. This is of course a theoretically valid procedure. We may argue from achievement to capacity in races or in individuals, provided the number of observations is sufficiently large or the conditions of experimental observation adequately controlled. In the last analysis we have no way of judging the capacity either of individuals or of races except by what they can do.

In the controlled conditions of the laboratory, the relative ability of two individuals in a certain line may conceivably be measured by a single experiment. A single contest may determine the superiority, as a runner, of one athlete over another. But we would not pronounce one superior to the other because of their relative positions at any moment before the end of the race nor without taking into account their starting points, the difficulty of their routes, the accidents of their journey, the goal of their

courses, and their incentive to exertion. It is only after all the conditions have been taken into the reckoning that decision may be made.

Somewhat similar conditions obtain in the comparison of racial groups. The conditioning facts must needs be known and evaluated if valid conclusions are to be arrived at on the basis of their culture history record. It is not possible to use as a measure of any generation the civilization that that generation possesses. Human cultures grow with extreme slowness and in consequence the history of a people must be known through a very considerable period of time and must be very carefully analyzed before any cautious student would venture a generalization in regard to the capacity of the group. No fact is more firmly established than that the cultural positions of races change. The fact that a race has a low culture during one historic era is not evidence that the status will remain. The historic record up to the last two thousand years gives no hint of Nordic cultural preëminence. The historic record gives no hint of what the Negro people will or will not achieve in the two thousand years immediately before us.

Civilization of a high order existed in Egypt for some thousands of years during which time the culture of the Greeks and Romans idled at the barbaric level. It is not probable that any Egyptian believed the race that was later to produce the Athenian civilization of the age of Pericles had a mental calibre and culture capacity equal to his own. The Egyptians disposed of the capacity of the Greeks and Romans to produce a civilization on the ground that they had never done so, just as these Greeks and Romans in the days of their glory disposed of our barbarian ancestors, and just as we, in the intolerance of our historic moment, are disposed to dismiss the Negroes and the Indians.

Another fact that makes general statement difficult is the superficial incomparability of cultures: there is no

general objective standard. The claim to superiority of any culture so far produced rests upon a dominance in some one or a few respects. The superiority of the Greek was aesthetic. Rome was a legal and military triumph. The unquestioned superiority of the Anglo-Saxon of the twentieth century does not lie in the entire field of culture but in one narrow aspect of that field—scientific discovery, mechanical invention, and consequent industrial achievement. Aside from this he is probably outclassed in every type of human achievement: in literature, art, religion, ethics, social organization, he has no unquestioned superiority. To rank one culture superior to another, as the European to the Chinese, it is necessary to select the proper criterion of judgment. The uncritical person does this naïvely by taking the culture to which he is habituated as a standard by which others are judged. From this standard the cultures of other races and peoples of necessity diverge and the lack of conformity is at once a proof and measure of their inferiority.

Not only do racial claims to superiority rest upon achievement in a single or few lines, but also upon a brief and selected span in the history of a people. The age of Pericles was but a moment in the life of the Greek people, but their claim to superiority rests upon that flowering period. The present is the moment of the Anglo-Saxon and he measures himself by that, ignoring the age-long period of barbarism that preceded. To accept, on the evidence of culture achievement, the Nordic claim to innate superiority is, if we have due regard for logical procedure, to accept the similar claim of the ancient Egyptian who, in the moment of his triumph, might equally well have denied the potential equality of the ancestors of all the European peoples.

The only escape from this sort of absurdity is resort to the yet more untenable position that culture is a function of biological evolution. This is to infer racial capacity

directly from the present status of the racial group. That certain races and peoples are culturally backward is obvious and indisputable. Just as the loose thinker infers the biological and human worth and mental capacity of individuals from their achievement, economic prosperity, business or professional success, social prominence and the like, without first correcting for a wide range of conditioning factors, so he tends to measure the capacity of a racial group by the present culture of its representatives. That the two sets of facts are of a different order and without any necessary connection is of course obvious on slight reflection. Racial capacity is a matter of hereditary biological equipment; present cultural status is, or may be, a matter of historic accident.

In general the weight of historical evidence probably lies against the tendency to infer racial worth from cultural status. The cultural status is essentially a matter of time and circumstance; it is not a fixed and permanent thing. Civilizations rise and fall; it is not possible to accept the momentary status of a racial group as evidence of its innate and inherited characters, else we would be forced to endorse the position that every change of status, the rise and fall of empires and states, is a biological instead of a political and social phenomenon. To accept this assumption is to accept the belief that the European peoples have in the past two thousand years undergone a biological evolution and change in innate mental capacity comparable with the change of culture that has taken place since Cæsar described our barbarian ancestors. That such a change in mental capacity has taken place, or in fact that any change in capacity whatsoever has taken place, there is no convincing evidence. If we accept the position it would be necessary, for example, to endorse the absurd doctrine that the Japanese people underwent in less than a century a biological evolution that raised them from the ranks of the inferior and backward people,

through the region of the *Dämmerungs-Menschen,* into the forefront of modern culture. The doctrine of a parallelism between racial ability and racial culture seems not to be a tenable one.

The cultural evidence advanced to prove the racial incapacity of the Negro people is not conclusive; it is probably not significant.

EVIDENCE FROM THE STUDY OF THE SCHOOL RECORDS OF NEGRO AND WHITE CHILDREN

Several more or less distinct types of proof have been advanced which tend in general to reënforce the popular assumption of Negro mental inferiority. The school records of Negro as compared with white children furnish one bit of evidence. More recently the development of the so-called mental tests and their application to children of different racial groups has given a second body of experimental material. The application of such tests to a very large number of the adult male recruits of the army draft gave an additional body of comparative data. Whatever present scientific warrant there may be for the belief in the inferiority of the Negro people seems to fall within one or more of these groups. We will examine in order the evidence which comes from each of these sources.

A number of studies have been made to test the comparative educational ability and attainment of the Negro and white children in the schools. The facts brought out by these studies are, on the whole, in fair agreement. The colored children on the average enter school somewhat later than do white children. Their percentage of retardation is higher in all or nearly all the school grades. They make a poorer showing in school work, they remain in school a greater length of time, and they graduate at a somewhat later age.

It would be possible to criticise many of these studies from the standpoint of method. In some cases the children studied were not an impartial sample. Where the efficiency of the pupils is arrived at on the basis of ratings given by the teachers the standard is inexact, arbitrary, and subject to the possibility of indefinite distortion through personal bias. And when, as was the case in some of the best known of these studies, the problem was the practical one of determining the advisability of providing separate schools for the Negro children there is ground for the suspicion that an unconscious personal element may have biased the findings of the investigator.

If, for the purpose of the argument, the accuracy and complete objectivity of such studies be granted, there remain the problem of the interpretation of the findings and the question of the conclusions that may legitimately be drawn from the data presented.

It has been usual in these studies to explain the poor average showing made by the Negro pupils in terms of an inferior mental ability, or to infer a lower grade of mentality on the basis of the lower marks. A lower inherent mental capacity on the part of Negro children may be a fact but it is a thing that requires proof. To infer it as the cause of poor scholastic attainment, without first correcting for other facts of the same order, to draw conclusions in terms of ability, intelligence, or other similar concepts which imply hereditary equipment while the evidence runs not in terms of innate traits but in terms of school success, to derive biological conclusions from unrefined social data, is not a defensible scientific procedure. Before resorting to this easy explanation it is necessary to show that the facts cannot be explained in social terms.

The cause of school retardation among Negro children is a complicated one but seems in general to lie in the same factors of social heritage and environment that explain the retardation of white children. Chief among the causes

of retardation of the Negro children is late entrance upon school life. This in turn is due to absence of school facilities, to over-crowded schools, to uneducated or indifferent parents, to poverty of the family, and to numerous other things that lie outside the personality of the child. The late entrance may or may not be related to low mental status. But granted a late entrance upon school life, whatever the cause, retardation through the grades and late graduation follow unless the late entrant be a child of more than average ability.

A second factor important in considerations of the cause of the retardation of the Negro children is the previous educational opportunity of the pupils. The investigations of the Chicago Race Commission disclosed the fact that the Northern born Negro children had no higher retardation rate than had the white children. The great majority of the retarded Negro children were recent migrants from the South. The difference in this respect between children from different sections of the country is readily understood when the relative educational opportunities are compared. In many cases Negro children in the South have less opportunity to attend school. Many Negroes live on plantations so far from school that regular attendance of young children is impossible. Again, the Southern schools are in most cases inferior and the school terms short. In Mississippi, for example, the education law provides for a school term of eighty days in such districts as do not reject the law. The children may be up to grade in these schools, but are of necessity demoted on entrance to a Northern school. In Chicago, since the recent migration, it has become necessary to provide special rooms for these retarded children from the South.

Certain other facts and conditions operate in some cases to the disadvantage of the Negro children. The eagerness of many Negro parents for the education of their

children causes many of them to keep over-age students in the schools. In most cases the Negro families are poor, the mother frequently employed away from home, and the home and family life broken and disordered to the disadvantage of the school life of the children. Whatever may be the cause it seems to be true that differences in economic status register in attendance and scholarship. The children of the low income classes of the whites register low and so do the children who come from the high income classes. The white children with high scholastic records seem to come from the classes in comfortable economic circumstances rather than from the wealthy or the poorer classes. In nearly all cases the Negroes represent the poor classes.

Interesting and valuable as are the studies of the comparative success of Negro and white children in the schools, their failure adequately to evaluate the factors of the Negro child's environment, which condition if they do not determine the child's achievement in the school room, seems to render the conclusions of such studies unworthy of any high degree of scientific credence.

THE PSYCHOLOGICAL TESTS AS EVIDENCE OF RACIAL INFERIORITY

A good deal of preliminary work has been done, designed to perfect a method of measuring more or less directly the higher mental faculties which we call intelligence. Various tests have been evolved and more or less standardized. To date the chief function of the tests has been the detection of backward and defective children.

A number of studies employing this technique have been made on Negro children and some comparative data are available. The results of the studies differ widely as to details but are in rather close agreement on the point here under consideration. The Negro children show a high

degree of efficiency in the younger years and in the simpler mental processes. But the median Negro child is unable to perform the intellectual tasks performed by the normal white child of the same age. The performance is less accurate and more irregular. On the basis of comparative tests the average mental ability of the Negro child is lower, but not a great deal lower, than that of the white child. Also, the Negro children seem to show a less degree of variability than do the white children, but the difference in variability is not great.

Any adequate consideration of these findings would involve a critique of the whole psychological method of mental testing and the somewhat complicated philosophical presuppositions in which they, in the first hand, rest. Such a critique would obviously be out of place in the present connection. Comment must be limited to a few of the more important objections that have been raised and lie with some force against the tests, in their present state of refinement, as a technique of race comparison.

These tests are designed to measure innate ability, natural intelligence, apart from information and training. That they, in their present state of development, do this with any high degree of accuracy is a thing not in general claimed by careful students in the field. The more careful men who use the tests rather freely and publicly admit their limitations. But the tests do measure something. What they measure is apparently a native capacity along certain lines as it has been developed under environmental stimuli. How much of the thing measured is sheer intellectual ability and how much of it is sophistication, it is not at present possible to say. So far as the tests compare children differently trained, they of necessity fail just to the extent that they fail to separate native capacity from education and training and to measure the former as distinct from the latter. That there would be anything to

test if the child had grown from birth without external stimulation, no psychologist, perhaps, would claim. That the thing to be tested would be the same had the stimulations to which response is made been different is a gratuitous and apparently baseless assumption. It must also be noted that the tests test only what they test. They test the limited range to which they apply. But the person is an integrated unity, too complex to be analyzed by his responses to a half a hundred verbal stimulations. Any random selection of persons registering the same score on the tests are found to have little or nothing in common other than their similar reaction to the tests. It has been one of the grievous errors of the testers to claim that the tests test more than they do test.

In the application of the tests to the Negro children, the different environmental stimulations under which the children have developed have not been adequately appreciated. The casual and off-hand manner in which the testers have in general assumed a common environment in terms, say of income of parents, is an adequate and conclusive demonstration of their failure to appreciate the almost infinite complexity of social stimulation, and the large end results that may come from small and apparently trivial differences in initial stimulation. In much of the comparative work on Negro and white children, the incorporation of a methodological error detracts somewhat from the scientific conclusiveness of the findings. This is the too common practice of comparing averages and curves. To be valid it is necessary that there be some way by which the race may be judged by the test itself. But this appears nowhere to be the case. The norms have been standardized on children of a North European social heritage and accommodated to an urban environment. A classification is made on the basis of color, and a comparison is made of curves derived from tests that apply equally to the children of both races. The one

group is thus more or less directly used as a measure of the other. In such a case the median lines of the groups may be quite separate, but there is no case where the curves are exclusive. There is always a large overlapping. So long as this is the case there is no validity for the classification other than that which would inhere in any arbitrary grouping.

In view of the highly tentative nature of the tests at the present time, no great confidence may be placed in the results derived from their application to children of differently circumstanced groups.

THE DATA FROM ARMY EXAMINATIONS AND THEIR INTERPRETATION

By far the largest body of psychological experimentation having a bearing on the problem of the comparative racial ability comes from the data collected incidentally to the hurried army mobilization. In 1917 the group of psychologists who were invited to assist in the allocation of the army personnel, devised a series of tests and applied them to a little over one and three-quarters million draftees and officers. The results of these tests are commonly regarded as the most authoritative measurements so far made of the racial differences in mentality. They have been the occasion of much discussion.

The tests, so far as they relate to the Negro, seem to show the average of the race to be consistently and markedly below the mental level of the white recruits. Eighty-five per cent of the Negroes were found to be inferior in intelligence, namely, in ability to pass the tests, to the average of the white population. The intelligence of the average American Negro was very greatly below that of the average white man. By making selection of 93,973 whites and 18,891 Negroes and throwing their ranking

upon a seven point distribution curve the following comparative results were recorded.

Race	*Percentages of Each Group Making Grade Indicated*						
	D—	*D*	*C*—	*C*	*C*+	*B*	*A*
Whites ..	7.0	17.1	23.8	25.0	15.0	8.0	4.1
Negroes .	9.0	29.7	12.9	5.7	2.0	0.6	0.1

The test ratings also showed the distinct and marked inferiority of the Southern to the Northern Negroes. Taking the distribution of grades for a group of 8,165 Northern Negroes and of 14,994 Southern Negroes the following results were recorded.

Race	*Percentage of Each Group Making Grade Indicated*						
	D—	*D*	*C*—	*C*	*C*+	*B*	*A*
Northern Negroes ..	19.6	27.6	22.1	21.4	6.7	2.3	0.6
Southern Negroes ..	55.7	26.4	9.8	6.2	1.4	0.4	0.1

The difference stands out in a similar striking way when the comparison is made of the Northern and the Southern Negroes by states. The data for the states of Illinois and Misissippi are shown in the following tabulation.

State	*Cases*	*Percentage from Each State Making Grade Indicated*						
		D—	*D*	*C*—	*C*	*C*+	*B*	*A*
Illinois	1,139	10.6	32.4	28.1	18.5	6.5	2.4	1.4
Mississippi ..	1,919	57.1	30.2	9.2	2.8	0.8	0.0	0.0

Accepting the results of these examinations as demonstrating the existence of mental differences between the whites and the Negroes, we turn to the question of the

meaning of the findings. Are the differences disclosed to be accepted as a final and complete demonstration of the mental inferiority of the Negro which common sense has assumed or may the findings be explained in other than racial terms? The former interpretation, being highly flattering to the racial pride of the white American has been widely and uncritically accepted. Brigham, for example, on the basis of the findings has asserted that "The average Negro child cannot advance through the educational curriculum adapted to the Anglo-Saxon child in step with that child." Terman has asserted that over eighty-five per cent of the Negroes have less intelligence than a 12 year old white child. Thaube states that "The average Southern Negro is about as capable in his intellectual capacities as the average nine year old white school boy." A host of similar statements on the basis of these examinations have gained a wide currency.

Are such generalizations to be accepted as final? There are two questions involved. First, do the conclusions come out of and follow inevitably from the data of the tests or may it be that these are opinions independently held and the army ratings used to illustrate and support them? The second point to be considered is whether or not the data on which the generalizations rest are of such a nature that valid scientific deductions may be drawn with these data as a basis?

A little critical examination of the tests and their results seems to show that the findings are somewhat less conclusive than is commonly believed and that the differences found are not inevitably to be accounted for in terms of the innate racial inferiority of the Negro people.

Before turning to the results themselves, it is necessary to raise the question as to whether or not there was anything in the nature of the tests or the manner of their application that was to the advantage or the disadvantage of any group. Were the army tests in any way

unfair to the Negro? It would appear that their validity is open to question in a number of more or less important particulars.

The purpose of the tests was practical. They were "designed to facilitate the selection of personnel for the different branches of the service" and "the selection and study of scientific data were always incidental to this main purpose." The examinations undertook to decide which men were fit and which were unfit for positions in the higher branches of the service. They made no effort to ascertain the cause of the fitness or unfitness. Consequently, whatever light they may throw upon the question of comparative racial intelligence is incidental. The racial groups made different ratings but there is nothing in the results themselves as to the causal explanation of the differential scores.

The tests were so timed that "five per cent or less of any average group would be able to finish in the time allotted." That was the percentage of men needed by the army in the higher branches of the service. In the case of the Negro recruits a less percentage of men was needed in the higher branches of the service and the testing procedure was "determined by the practical needs of the Army." That is, the distribution of Negro grades was less important; Negroes were not needed in any considerable number in the higher branches of the service and the examiners were instructed to act accordingly. Now the Negroes making low scores, D minus and D, were in eighty per cent of the cases not recalled for re-examination. Yet all the evidence goes to show that a re-examination would have resulted in improved scores. Of the Negroes examined in Alpha, the test used for English speaking literate persons, and making D minus and subsequently re-examined 86.9 per cent made higher scores and the percentage receiving a rating above D increased from three to thirty per cent.

Another point that is apparently of some considerable importance is that a very high percentage of the Negroes were examined in Beta, a test used for illiterates and non-English-speaking persons. They were given in lieu of the Alpha tests to 65.5 per cent of the Negroes as against 24.7 per cent of the white recruits. The larger percentage of Negroes than of whites given the Beta was due in part to the higher percentage of illiteracy in the group, the illiteracy rate of the Negro recruits being more than twice that of the white recruits. But aside from the reason for giving the Negroes this test, the fact is that they were given the Beta in nearly three times as high a percentage of cases as were the whites.

In some cases the Negroes were all sent to the Beta without effort to separate the literate from the illiterate. Now it was at least in part the opinion of the examiners that the Beta was an unsatisfactory test for Negroes. In summarizing the reports from the various camps on this point, the previously quoted report of the psychological division of the surgeon general concluded that "the general consensus seems to be that Beta is not as satisfactory a test for illiterate Negro recruits as it is for illiterate whites."

The fact that the Negroes were not needed in large numbers in the higher branches of the service, that the tests were administered to select the percentage needed, that the Negroes were in larger percentage of cases examined in Beta where they were admittedly at a disadvantage, and that the Negro recruits making low scores were not as consistently re-examined as were the white recruits making low scores, certainly raise some question as to the finality and scientific reputability of any conclusions derived directly from the relative racial ratings.

But suppose, for purposes of the argument, that the data of the tests be accepted as impartial and unbiased. The inferiority of the Negro is even then not demon-

strated; it must first be shown that the results are not to be explained equally well on any other hypothesis. But this appears not to be the case. The differences found to exist are subject to a more immediate, complete, and adequate explanation on the ground of a difference in education and educational opportunity. The results are better explained without the assumption of any innate intellectual difference than they are on the hypothesis of racial differences in mentality.[1]

The showing made in the Army tests by the Northern Negroes was very much better than that made by the Southern Negroes. The proportion of Northern Negroes in the groups making a grade above the average was about ten times as high as that of the Southern Negroes. In the groups making grades below the average, the Southern Negroes had about twice as high a proportion as did the Negroes from the North.

In regard to the relative amounts of education, the

[1] It is necessary to avoid the confusion likely to result from the familiar quibble over terms. By intelligence we may understand the ability to perform problems that reflect an understanding of a familiar environment. But this is not the sort of thing the Army examiners undertook to measure. The Army Memoir defined intelligence as the thing measured by the tests. A person was intelligent to the extent that he was able to pass the tests. ". . . by 'intelligence' we mean the ability that manifests itself quantitatively in a set of consistent scores in all the types of examination upon which our data are based." Defined in this manner, the tests, or any other conceivable tests that anyone may wish to set up, are an irrefragable, indisputable, and perfect measure of intelligence. But quibbling of this sort is merely a form of obscurantism calculated to work utter confusion among the uninitiated: it shifts the question at the same time that it flatly contradicts the other assertion that ". . . we must assume that we are measuring *native and inborn intelligence*. . . ." Now native intelligence as such is not measurable. The thing which all the intelligence tests so far devised undertake to measure is developed intelligence and their validity depends upon the degree to which differences in native endowment may be inferred from differences in developed intelligence. This may validly be done provided a high degree of correlation consistently prevails between the phenomenon measured and the phenomena whose measurement is inferred. This inference may with reasonable accuracy be made when, and only when, the individuals compared have a common experience.

report of the psychological examination of the recruits showed nineteen per cent of the Southern and seven per cent of the Northern Negro recruits to have reported no schooling whatever. Over fifty per cent of the Southern Negroes had no schooling beyond the third grade and only seven per cent had finished the eighth grade. In the Northern states fifty per cent of the Negroes do not go beyond the fifth grade while about twenty-five per cent finish the eighth grade. The correlation between years of schooling and rank in the tests is recognized in the memoir in the generalization that "Within each group such groups which were successively better schooled make sucessively better showing in the intelligence examinations." The median years of schooling of the white and colored draft is shown in the following tabulation.

Classification	*Median Years of Schooling*
Officers	14.7
White draft, native born	6.0
White draft, foreign born	4.7
Negro, Northern	4.9
Negro, Southern	2.6

The difference in schooling is strikingly parallel with the scores made by the different types of recruits. But it is not possible adequately to appreciate the difference in educational opportunity when it is stated merely in terms of years in school. School years differ in length. The quality of the educational opportunity must also be taken into the reckoning. That there is a difference in quality is indicated by the fact that Louisiana, for example, expends $1.31 for education per Negro child per year as against $45.32 expended by the state of New York. South Carolina expends yearly $1.44 for the education of each Negro child as against $36.20 expended by the

state of Pennsylvania. The same difference between the educational opportunity of the Negro and the white is suggested by the relative amount of money expended for the instruction of each. Arkansas expends approximately three times as much per capita for teachers' salaries for white as for Negro children; Florida four times as much; Alabama, Georgia, and Mississippi five times as much; South Carolina seven times as much, and Louisiana nine times as much.

Certain other facts of interest and significance appear as the data of the examinations are studied. In all cases the literate members of every race made a better showing than the illiterates. Irrespective of the section of the country, the literate Negroes ranked higher than the illiterate whites. The Northern Negroes very greatly surpassed the Italians in America. In the Alpha tests the New York Negroes made approximately the same ranking as the Alabama whites, while in the Beta tests the New York Negroes ranked approximately nine points superior to the Alabama whites. That is, the New York Negroes, on the basis of the tests, and in whatever the tests measure, are equal to or slightly superior to the whites of Alabama. Very clearly the accident of a Southern birth is a determining element in intelligence, as measured by the Army tests.

It is not necessary farther to labor the point. It is evident that the better ratios of the Northern compared with the Southern Negroes are due to increased education, greater freedom and social contact, greater incentive, higher economic status and to other elements of the social environment. One of two things is clear: either the Army tests were a measure of educational and social opportunity rather than a measure of innate and unalterable racial traits, or educational opportunity is so clearly a determining factor in the case that the tests mean little or nothing as an indication of relative racial mentality.

In the light of all the available data on the subject of relative racial capacity, the present scholarly opinion must be stated in negative terms. It is probable that differences in racial mentality exist; the presumption is that way because of the physical differences. There is a very considerable body of apparently unbiased scientific opinion on the side of Negro inferiority. And there are no competent students of racial matters who dogmatically assert an absolute racial mental equality. What has been done is to demonstrate that the customary proofs of racial inequality are scientifically worthless. The Negro may be the intellectual inferior of the white racial stock, but to date no one has marshalled in proof of the position any body of evidence that has scientific validity.

THE QUESTION OF RACIAL TEMPERAMENT

Some of the existing variations in cultures seem to indicate that certain types of temperament are more or less characteristic of large groups. In fundamental and essential respects all cultures are the same, but they also vary one from the other in more or less important ways. These variations may not be accounted for on the ground of difference in the intellectual capacity of groups, the existence of such differences in intellectual capacity not having been demonstrated. Moreover, the culture variations are those of difference rather than of degree: cultures do not stand in an hierarchal order. Nor does it appear possible to account for the culture variations wholly in terms of historic accident. Such explanation is adequate to an understanding of the culture differences that obtain among the same people in different historic periods, as between that of the Germanic peoples of the tenth and the European civilization of the twentieth century, or between that of the Japan of the eighteenth and the Japan of the twentieth century. But historic acci-

dent does not always furnish an adequate explanation of differences between nationalistic groups nor is it always adequate to an explanation of the differentiation of culture patterns within groups.

It is possible, and appears probable, that, as a result of variations, selection, and adaptation to a peculiar social environment and natural habitat, the Negro people may possess, as a racial heritage, certain characteristic temperamental qualities. Popular observation has long characterized them by such descriptive terms as sunny, good-natured, lively, excitable, kindly, home-loving, convivial, improvident, and the like. So far as such terms are really descriptive of the people, and so far as the characteristics themselves are not a mere temporary expression of their recent historic status, they lend support to the presumption of a racial individuality of temperament.

The period of Negro freedom in America has given some evidence in support of this hypothesis.

In the relatively simple social organization of a primary group, the individual life organization is largely, or completely, a replica of the inclusive social organization. The culture patterns are limited in number and rigidly defined, and the accommodation of the individual to them is complete and relatively perfect. There is no individual choice of work, no choice of metaphysical belief, no variation from the conventionalized sex patterns, and little opportunity in any direction for choice in accordance with individual inclination. The individual conforms to the relatively fixed group patterns. If the culture of the group is indigenous in origin, or completely modified through a long process of selective adaptation, these culture patterns may be assumed to reflect and to express with accuracy and with some degree of detail the wishes characteristic of the particular group as well as the more general needs of human beings.

But in any complex culture situation that permits of any

degree of choice on the part of the group members, individual differences appear. The culture patterns are numerous and competing; frequently they are conflicting and contradictory. Within this system the individual life organization of each member of the group is based on the elements he selects or which are selected for him. He engages in a certain type of work to the exclusion of other types; he subscribes to some one of the various contradictory types of religious philosophy; he chooses one from among a variety of types of sex and family life; he selects certain forms of hedonistic activities and rejects or neglects others; and so for all the elements that go to make up his personal life organization. To the extent that he is a free person, the values which he selects and incorporates into a more or less consistent individual life organization are those satisfying to his individual temperamental needs.

If the members of an alien race be introduced into such a complex culture situation and allowed freedom in their individual life organization, and it is found that they more or less consistently select certain values and neglect others we may assume that these choices are in harmony with their natural temperament or with the type of values to which they have been habituated or both. The fact that the members of one group go, in larger percentage of cases than do the members of another, into specific occupations or types of life is significant so far as we may assume a freedom of selection and so far as the tendency is consistent.

In American life the Negro people show a tendency to select certain values and to reject others. During the long period of slavery their values were of course selected for them. But in the brief period of relative freedom, since the Emancipation, there have been significant changes in the behavior of the group. Certain occupations on which the race at one time had a virtual monopoly

have passed into the hands of other groups while they have gone in increasing numbers to occupations from which they were previously barred. While this period of freedom has been short and their choice of values is still rather narrowly limited, they show a tendency to select from the complex American culture the artistic rather than the utilitarian values. Dr. Park, observing this tendency, has with neatness of expression and keenness of insight characterized the Negro as "the lady among the races."

There is of course no complete segregation in this respect. But so far as individuals are free to select the social values that make a fundamental appeal and so far as the Negro people select or neglect values in a proportion different from that characteristic of the white racial group, there is a tendency toward cultural differentiation on the basis of differences in racial temperament. Racial differences of this nature appear to have more significance for an understanding of culture variations than do the possible differences in average racial intelligence.

It must be re-emphasized, however, that the phenomenon of racial temperament has not been made the subject of any scientific research.

CONCLUSIONS

The present status in the scientific study of racial phenomena is a considerable distance in advance of the points that have been discussed in the present chapter. The idea of racial inferiority and superiority is not a present problem of research among students; it is a matter of debate among laymen. For approximately two decades there has been virtual agreement among scholars; all accept as a provisional but fairly well-founded working hypothesis the position that the various races and peoples of the world are essentially equal in mental ability and

capacity for civilization. The modern students of sociology and ethnology, whose task it is to deal directly and scientifically with peoples and cultures, are interested in the individual and specific *qualitative* differences that may exist. There are qualitative excellencies in all races. In what lines do the Negro's peculiar capacities lie? This is a real problem of research; the search for the characteristic attitudes and interests as indicative of capacity and efficiency. To discover these and define the conditions necessary to their development is a thing of scientific and practical importance. The *quantitative* question, the question of which race or group has the largest number of excellencies concentrated, is a subsequent problem of addition that has no great scientific significance.

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CHAPTER V

THE ACCOMMODATION AND ASSIMILATION OF THE RACES

THE EARLY CONTACTS OF THE RACES IN AMERICA

Notwithstanding the very long period during which African Negroes had been subjected to slavery by European peoples, the introduction of twenty captive blacks into the Jamestown Colony in 1619 was the first experience of the English settlers with African slaves.

The early contacts of the races in America were more in the nature of physical than of social contacts. The Negroes were introduced as a labor force and were valued on that basis. The motives leading to their purchase and the attitudes toward them appear to have been essentially those that lead to the purchase, use, and care of domestic animals. The control exercised over their life and activity was of necessity physical rather than social: they were controlled from the outside as animals are controlled rather than through a community of habit and sentiment. The attitude toward them was similar, often identical, to that manifested toward a valuable work animal. The Negroes were within the group rather than a part of it.

It could not well have been otherwise. The American communities into which the Negroes came were of a rude, pioneer type. The colonists were for the most part, middle- and low-class persons. Agriculture was the chief, almost the only, occupation. There were few labor-saving devices. Cultivation of crops was almost exclu-

sively by the hoe. Workers were needed and very low-class workers were equal to the tasks. The Negroes were very rude. In some cases they were brought directly from the jungle, in other cases they came by way of the West Indies. In the latter and more usual case they had been to some extent subdued and partially habituated to the status of work animals. The newly-arrived captives were "broken-in" by being put to work in gangs with "seasoned" slaves. Later, as they became reconciled to slavery under the white master and learned to follow simple directions they were given individual tasks or sold to the planters and farmers on the mainland. But whether they were brought from the West Indies or direct from Africa they were primitive creatures with little or no knowledge of the language or other culture facts of the groups into which they were introduced. They were profoundly disorganized through the destruction of their social organization. They could communicate but imperfectly with the white masters and often, because of the separation of tribal members, they were unable to understand each other.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE SLAVE STATUS

The slavery of Negroes was an old and well-established institution in Southern Europe and Negro slaves accompanied many of the early exploring expeditions. In the Spanish colonies the institution existed from the first, developing by a simple extension of the European system and its adaptation to the needs of the colonial environment.

But in the English colonies there was no precedent by which to determine the status of the Negroes. Slavery was not in the mores of Northern Europe and there was, in consequence, no traditional conception of slavery and of the place of the slave in the social order.

Moreover, the great majority of the English colonists had had no previous contact with the Negro people. In consequence of this historic fact, there was an absence of any traditional prejudice toward members of the race, there was no crystallized conception of the Negro and of his place in the social order. The relationships that came to prevail were the result in very large part of the biological and cultural differences between the races brought together in a geographic situation new to both. The resulting status was in minor degree only modified by traditional conceptions. The Negroes were heathens and generally uncouth persons and the early personal prejudice against them ran in religious and hygienic rather than in racial terms.

It is probable that the first Negroes were considered as servants rather than as slaves. The colonists were familiar with the system of indenture which prevailed in Europe during the period of American colonization. The system was transferred to America, and the socially heterogeneous indentured servant class was a numerically important part of the colonial population. The conception of the Negro's position in the society was determined or modified by the prevailing conception of social classes. The Negroes and the white indentured servants were closely associated during a considerable part of the early period and it appears that at first not much difference was made, formally, in the status of the two servile groups.

But the marked physical, mental, temperamental cultural, and religious strangeness of the Negroes probably gave them from the first a status somewhat unlike that of any other group in the society. This status came gradually to be defined in practice and was well established and generally understood long before it anywhere received legal sanction. So far as Negroes were concerned, the status of servants came presently to mean servants for life and this came ultimately to mean ser-

vants in perpetuity. As the system of white indenture fell into disuse the status of servitude came more and more exclusively to be associated with the alien, outcast, and degraded race, and, conversely, the position of the slave became the presumptive status of all Negroes. The conception of slavery itself also underwent a change as it became definitely confined to the members of a different race and as the social and economic life of the colonies developed and evolved. The idea of a slave as a person serving for life gave place to the conception of a slave as a thing rather than as a person. By the beginning of the eighteenth century slavery of Negroes existed as an accepted practice in all the colonies and by the middle of the century it had everywhere in the colonies received legal sanction.

After the Revolution, with the development of the country and its increase in area, wealth, and population, the status of the Negroes was yet more clearly defined. The climatic conditions and the rice, cotton, and tobacco industries of the South outlined the area in which the exploitation of slave labor was profitable. The invention of the cotton gin in 1792 with the resulting increased profit from the production of that staple further changed the nature of the institution. It increased the value of servile labor by increasing the productivity of the laborers and it definitely changed slavery from a semi-patriarchal to a business type of institution. This brought a corresponding change in the status of the servile class: from being quasi-personalities they became pieces of property.

THE SENTIMENTS AND ATTITUDES OF THE NEGRO SLAVES

The Negroes on the whole yielded to the slave status with little show of resistance. To a very considerable extent, the master-slave relationship was within their tribal mores. Slavery was at the basis of most of the

agricultural and industrial life of West Africa and subordination to alien races was also within the racial heritage. It was the form that the institution took in America and the race that administered it rather than the status itself that was new to the racial experience of the Negroes. The temperamental characteristics of the race appear to be such as to make the initial stages of a slave order relatively easy to establish. They are non-aggressive and live to a greater degree than most racial groups in the world outside of their heads. This extrovert temperament made their first adjustment to the superficial aspects of the situation easy and their more complete accommodation relatively certain.

The external characteristics of the situation operated to the same end. The Negroes for a long period were few in number and were widely scattered. The plantation system of gang labor in the early stages of the slave institution did not in general prevail; the ownership of slaves rested with numerous individuals and they were resident in many households. As a result of this distribution their contacts with others of their race were comparatively few. The slaves brought to America represented many different tribal stocks and spoke many different dialects. In consequence, they were frequently unable to communicate until they had acquired some command of the English language. At all times the power of superior numbers rested with the whites and the infrequent revolts of individuals and small groups were promptly suppressed.

The Negroes presently became habituated to the servile position in the social order. Presently there were individuals born into the status, individuals who knew no other system of human relations and accepted their subordinate status as a part of the order of nature. The importation of raw Negroes from Africa and the West Indies continued, but more and more they came into an

ordered and established system which was supported and upheld by the sentiments and attitudes of the previous arrivals as well as by the power of the whites. The acceptance of the situation became easier for the new arrivals as the body of supporting slave sentiment increased.

The children born to slavery uncritically accepted it as their rightful status and equally uncritically accepted the superior status of the whites. They had no basis on which to question it. The caste order was all that they knew and the striking dissimilarity in the physical appearance of the races gave what seemed to be a natural basis for it. The difference in the cultural development of the races paralleled the caste lines and reinforced the tendency to accept the existing arrangements as being in harmony with the divine plan.

As slavery became an established and accepted institution, the slaves developed the complex of beliefs, sentiments, and attitudes which their position in the society demanded. They were inferior in fact and they accepted their inferiority. Slavery did not rest upon force except in the early stages of the institution and in the case of unaccommodated individuals. The forces that controlled the slaves were within the slaves themselves. There was no general longing to escape and no general feeling of hatred and bitterness that comes from brooding over wrongs. They accepted the status and took a certain pride in it. They looked up to the whites, desired them to be superior, and resented any behavior that seemed to put in question the superiority of the white master class. Conversely, they looked upon their own race as inferior to the whites, as existing to serve the whites, and they resented any behavior of members of their race not in harmony with the master-man relationship. The mass of the slaves throughout most of the slave period were highly accommodated to their servile status.

THE RECIPROCAL ACCOMMODATION OF THE WHITE POPULATION

The accommodation of the whites was not less complete than that of the Negroes. They became habituated to the rôle of leadership and developed the complex of beliefs and attitudes appropriate to their position in the social order.

This white caste was of course the outcome of a long developmental process. It grew directly and inevitably out of the social situation. The slave cannot exist without the master. In the society the existence of a servile and inferior caste implies the existence of a master and superior caste. The relationship is a reciprocal one and the accommodation of the whites to their position in the society came in the course and as a part of the establishing of a slave order. The presence of a group of primitive servile laborers made necessary the direction of their work and the control of their lives if they were to be economically valuable and were not to be a dangerous element in the society. The white owners were forced to assume responsibility, and with the exercise of power came the attitudes characteristic of a socially superior class. The tendency to look upon those who worked as inferior to those who directed the work and profited by it was inevitable. The racial difference between the slaves and the masters made it easy to assume that the difference in status was an expression of this fact. There developed a body of doctrine justifying the master-slave system and the white man's place in the system.

Once the slave economy was an established and going concern, the white children of the slave-owning families received, as an integral part of their social heritage, the sentiments and beliefs of their class in regard to their relation to and responsibility for the servile class. Slavery was a fact of their lives and was accepted as the child

accepts other facts of his environment. The races were distinct in appearance; they differed in social position. One set of facts to the child was as natural as the other. He accepted the situation as he found it and learned to play the rôle appropriate to his station in life.

The accommodation of the whites was to the slave order as well as to the slaves as social inferiors. Certain types of work, including practically all involving physical exertion, fell to the lot of the Negroes, and whites could not engage in such work without loss of caste. The result of thus limiting the range of activity of the whites was to develop in them a habitual attitude of dependence upon their menials and a general helplessness in numerous simple situations.

A very large part of the white population, even in the slave-holding states, did not own Negroes and were technically outside of the system. They were, however, not independent of it; the system dominated the economic life and colored the entire social order. So far as the non-slave-holding individuals and families were dependent for livelihood upon their own exertions they were, more or less directly, in economic competition with the servile blacks, and the fact that they engaged in manual occupations put them, socially, in a class apart. They had little part in the political activities, were generally outside the influence of the schools, and had little part in the shaping of public policy. The slaves, reflecting and exaggerating the attitude of the master caste, looked upon the poor whites with contempt. In the situation the poor-white class developed the body of sentiments and attitudes necessary to a tolerable life. They hated the Negroes and stood in more or less fear and awe of the aristocracy. Though they were not a part of the slave economy, they were habituated to it. Their accommodation to the system, while in a different plane, was scarcely less complete than that of the Negroes and their masters.

THE CONSEQUENT FRIENDLY RELATIONS BETWEEN THE RACES

As a result of the relatively complete accommodation of the races, there was a virtual absence of racial strife. For the most part the relations of the races were friendly. Uprisings among the slaves were few in number and local in area. Such dissatisfaction as existed among the Negroes was in general the result of deviation from accepted standards, and was with individual men and masters rather than with the institution. Harsh discipline, overwork, poor food, and like forms of mistreatment gave rise to restless discontent on many plantations, and the presence of ill-adjusted individuals sometimes tended to disorganize an otherwise orderly group. As a whole the Negroes accepted their status and were in general contented and reasonably happy in their dependent position. The picture frequently drawn of the Negroes as unhappy and brooding persons held in servitude by the superior force of the whites and ready to rebel and throw off the yoke of oppression when opportunity came is of course completely out of focus. It misstates the historic situation and reflects a total lack of comprehension of the forces operating in social situations. Between the slaves and their masters there was in general a high degree of personal and social understanding and a good deal of intimacy in terms of the accepted status. There was a consciousness on both sides of the social distance that separated them. Each knew his place in the social order and the maintenance of the social distinctions enabled them to maintain friendly personal relations.

THE EASE AND NATURALNESS OF THE ASSIMILATION OF THE NEGROES

The assimilation of the Negroes by the European culture went on with remarkable ease and unusual rapidity.

The individual Negroes were highly plastic and the external conditions were highly favorable. The process was to be sure extended over a long period and there were at all times many unassimilated Negroes in the slave population. But this was due to historic circumstances rather than to any retardation of the sociological process: the traffic in slaves continued for a long period after the earlier importations and their descendants had lost all trace of the African heritage and become culturally indistinguishable from white Americans of similar status.

Even in their native environment, the Negroes were without a sense of nationality or of racial unity, so had no sentimental complex inhibiting their ready acceptance of alien culture facts. Moreover, the native African civilization in the regions over which the slave traders operated was thoroughly disorganized. The captives brought to America were separated from all the objective elements of their culture.

Incidentally or intentionally the slave trade separated tribal members and the Negroes came into the American situation as individuals. The slave régime completed the destruction of the tribal organization and social heritage of the captive people. As a consequence of the dispersion there was little opportunity to associate with fellow-tribesmen: their more frequent contacts were with slaves of a different tribal origin, so of different language and social heritage. All the material facts of their tribal culture disappeared at once and completely; there was no opportunity to practice or perpetuate a native culture. There was no opportunity to reproduce the values in the new world and no possibility of retaining or transmitting the non-material values. Their time was occupied in tasks set by their masters and the daily routine of their lives pretty effectually prevented attention being given to ancestral beliefs and practices. They were a broken people, realigned as individuals in a strange environment and

subjected to a manner of living for which they had little inclination, without opportunity to practice their rites or transmit their culture tradition. They were completely stripped of their native social heritage and as completely as it is possible for any people to be at the mercy of a foreign culture.

FACTORS FAVORING A RAPID ASSIMILATION OF THE NEGROES

The sentimental and other facts that characteristically retard assimilation were absent. And there were present some positive facts of a general nature that stimulated the process.

The contact of strange peoples seems always to result in some degree in a modification of the culture complex of each. The groups may profit differently and perhaps never equally but the contacts are for each group culturally significant. The complex of values characteristic of each people is enriched or contaminated by the appropriation and incorporation of new values or is changed by the addition of new elements or by the substitution of new values for the old. In any case the incorporation of new values may have far-reaching results and determine changes in the fundamental social organization through bringing changes in the basic conditions of life.

When the groups in contact are unequally advanced in culture the associated life influences their development in very unequal degrees. The advanced group has more to contribute; the backward group has more to learn. In each case the culture complex of one group may remain essentially unchanged and become the standard to which the other group tends to approximate. The relative numbers of the two groups in contact are also an element in the process: the more numerous group, other facts equal, changes more slowly its traditional values and this is

particularly so if it represents an old and relatively stable social order. There is also the factor of nativity and environmental adjustment. Every group of long residence in an environment has developed a set of values which adjusts its members with nicety to the prevailing conditions of life and offers greater resistance to social change than does a group recently migrant and still in a relatively early stage of folk adaptation.

In the American situation the Negroes were in the midst of an obviously superior type of culture. They were an unorganized minority in a strange environment. Even without the compulsion of their social situation and status, they would inevitably have taken over with great rapidity the material and technological facts of the white civilization.

The extent of the direct influence of one culture upon another turns in the main upon the number and intimacy of contacts between the individuals bearing the contrasted cultures. If the contacts are casual, formal, and intermittent the borrowing may be slight and usually is limited to such objective and superficial elements of the foreign culture as are obviously of superior utilitarian value. The weapons, work tools, hunting implements, personal ornaments, stimulants, and the like are readily appropriated and may pass into common use unless superstitious beliefs, magical practices, or other facts of the culture complex inhibit their spread. In the casual contacts of backward peoples with those of superior culture many material objects, conceived to have utility for ceremonial or magical purposes may be taken over and converted to a new or grotesque use. But the cultural consequences of impersonal and superficial contacts are generally not far-reaching. Unless the secondary effect of the borrowed culture elements is the establishment of a new relationship between the people and the environment upon which they are dependent they bring no change in the fundamental

social organization. The culture may be enriched or changed by the additions and substitutions but its basic character remains intact.

The slave status of the Negroes was thus an important, perhaps the most important, fact favoring their assimilation. The rapidity of the assimilation process is conditioned by the opportunity for association, and there is no form of social organization so well adapted to multiply the primary contacts of culturally divergent peoples as the patriarchal slave order. The Negroes, aside from those on the larger plantations and in the West Indies and in the Lower South, were in daily contact with the members of the master's family and with individuals of their own race who were already assimilated or partly assimilated to the white culture. So far as they were members of households owning a single slave or a few slave families—and such was the usual case—they worked side by side with their masters and mistresses. In the relationship of slave and master, the disorganized and helpless Negroes found a new security; the friendly and intimate relations which prevailed between the races, once they became mutually accommodated, opened the avenues along which the assimilation of the white culture came easily and inevitably.

There was at all times some active interest on the part of the whites in the assimilation of the Negroes, and some efforts, mostly of an informal sort, were made to bring them at least in part into the culture of the white group. Those whose lot fell with families of the more decent type received some instruction in the social and moral customs of civilized people and some control was exercised over their behavior. Some little effort was made at various times to instruct individual Negroes who showed ability or for other reason attracted the attention and aroused the interest of sympathetic persons. The masters were interested in their learning English inasmuch

as this increased their efficiency as workers, and the acquisition of the language was indispensable for any degree of participation in the community life. The clergy were interested in proselyting and the effect of the ministerial activities was to increase and vary the type of contacts.

THE DISAPPEARANCE OF THE AFRICAN HERITAGE AND THE ACCEPTANCE OF EUROPEAN VALUES

The native languages were essentially useless to the transported captives. They could not be used as a means of communication with the whites and, because of the separation of tribal groups and the distribution of the slaves, individuals rarely came into contact in America with others who spoke the same dialect. In the situation the native tongues were forgotten and the slaves learned to understand and speak the language of their conquerors. The language substitution was so complete and one-sided that practically no words of African origin found their way into English. The acquisition of the language was rapid in the case of the fortunate individuals who lived in small households and were in consequence in close and intimate association with white persons. The Negro children born in America to these fortunate slaves learned English as their native tongue and knew no more of the African dialect than did the American white children. On the plantations, and elsewhere that the slaves were used in numbers, the contacts with the whites were infrequent and impersonal and the Negroes acquired the culture language more slowly and in a highly corrupted form.

The family institution, never highly developed among the West African tribes, was disorganized by the slave traffic and the family life of the Negroes completely destroyed by their capture and dispersion. With the destruction of the institutional control, the sex life was

pretty openly on a purely animal basis; the sex demoralization was complete and profound. In the situation the only restraints were the ones imposed by the servile status; the only standards were those that the master class saw fit to enforce. Slowly the Negroes came to an understanding and acceptance of the monogamic family ideal. But the actual sex and family life of the slave population remained disordered. A marriage ceremonial was never necessary to the formation of a slave family. The unions formed could be discontinued at the will of the master. Slave parents had little control over or responsibility for their children. No importance was attached to the promiscuous sex behavior of the slaves. Indeed, promiscuity was often encouraged as a means of increasing the slave population. Except in the personally favored class of slaves, the European sex and family mores were very slow of general adoption.

The religious and magical practices of the Africans were in large measure lost as a consequence of their dispersion. The sporadic appearances of tribal religious rites were generally suppressed. In the absence of observance the practices were forgotten and the beliefs lost. On the positive side they easily took on the white beliefs and practices. They were a primitive and superstitious people and fears aroused in the new form of life which they could in no way control made them ideal material for religious efforts. They readily accepted Christianity and found in it a philosophy admirably suited to their status.

In like manner the majority of their folk customs and practices were lost. In the absence of opportunity to associate with other persons of similar heritage the customs inevitably fell into disuse and were presently forgotten and lost. Little of either good or bad remained. Their moral ideas and tribal customs could not stand the shock of the slave traffic. Their systems of control and

education were useless. Their political ideas, never more than a somewhat vague sense of loyalty to the chief, were soon gone. The whole culture complex collapsed and was not and could not be transmitted to their children. In place of the destroyed values they quickly came into possession of the objective culture values of their conquerors. They learned the agricultural and household activities of the whites through systematic training; they acquired through imitation the superficial vices and mannerisms of their white associates.

As time went on the contact of the members of the two races came to involve a high degree of intimacy and mutual dependence, and the cultural modification of many members of the servile group proceeded beyond the simple appropriation of objective values: they came to a more or less adequate appreciation of the values. The native-born Negroes shared in the common body of historic experience and had the same group of memories as did the native-born whites. The ethnic mixture of stocks, which is never absent when two culturally unequal groups occupy the same geographic region, increased the social contacts and promoted assimilation. In the Negro children of American birth and ancestry little or nothing distinctly African remained. They had no knowledge of the country nor of African ways and culture. They spoke the same language as their masters and shared the same tradition. They had the same political conceptions, held the same social beliefs, and had institutional and cultural loyalties identical with those that prevailed in their familiar environment. They differed from the pattern type more in degree of conformity than in the kind of culture facts. The process of assimilation—the fusion of culture heritages and the formation of a community of interests, sentiments, and historic memories through participation in a common life—was well advanced.

THE INCOMPLETENESS OF ASSIMILATION BEFORE THE EMANCIPATION OF THE SLAVES

In spite of individual exceptions, the Negroes had very incompletely assimilated the European culture heritages at the time of their emancipation. They were not fully in the white man's civilization. The complete destruction of their tribal heritage, as well as their servile status in the new world, was conducive to the adoption of the foreign values. But their participation in the culture life was obstructed and partial. The foreign values they had adopted were often imperfectly understood: the externals of the new culture were acquired, often with ease and rapidity, but often with a very vague notion of the content of the adopted forms. They took on the forms of Christian worship, for example, long before they came to any appreciation or conception of Christianity: the content, when the adopted forms had any real content, came from another source. The absence of any real comprehension on the part of even the more fortunately situated Negroes is seen in their educational and political activity following the Emancipation. They responded to classical and literary subjects but remained cold to technical and vocational training; they had the educational form without the content; they placed it strictly in the realm of magic. The same magical conception is manifest in the unlimited confidence they had in the franchise as the means to their social and economic salvation.

There were of course wide differences between individuals and groups, due to unequal periods of residence in America and to the unequal operation of the isolating factors. The first slaves were brought into the Colonies in the seventeenth century. At the time of the Emancipation there were Negroes in the population with five, six, or more generations of American-born ancestors. These persons were completely Americanized in the sense

that they knew no more of Africa than did the white Americans; they differed from other native-born persons in their degree of civilization, perhaps, but such culture values as they had were American. But there were other slaves brought to America as late as the Civil War. At the Emancipation there were a good many African born persons in the slave population and a much larger number whose parents, one or both, were of African birth. In most cases these late comers had had neither time nor opportunity to acquire the social heritage of their masters.

There were similar differences due to unequal opportunities for social contact. On the larger plantation the slaves came very little into contact with individuals of the culture race; the gang laborers in the towns were sometimes almost equally isolated and retarded. In these circumstances the Negroes not infrequently underwent a cultural deterioration: there was nothing to replace the loss of their tribal heritage. An acquaintance with even the external facts of European life came to them slowly, indirectly, and imperfectly.

The complete assimilation of individuals and groups to a foreign culture comes only with their full participation in the common life. The participation of the Negroes in the group life was always limited and their assimilation of the culture values correspondingly retarded and imperfect. Even today there are very few Negroes fully in the European culture.

THE MODIFICATION OF EUROPEAN CULTURE VALUES IN THE PROCESS OF ASSIMILATION

The process of assimilating the Negroes to the white civilization was not without a profound influence on the culture.

It is possible to dismiss at once the position sometimes taken that the Negroes made an important cultural con-

tribution: there are no elements of American culture that are African in origin. For better or worse, the slave traffic stripped the Negroes of their culture values and introduced them as work animals into the American environment. It does not follow from this, however, that they have made no contribution to the culture nor that the civilization would be the same today if they had not come. They have influenced the course of American life directly by their individual contributions and indirectly by their presence.

Their chief positive contribution to American life was the manual labor necessary for the exploitation of certain natural resources and the rapid development of an agricultural industry in the part of the country least suited climatically to white labor. But this unquestioned labor contribution was made at the expense of a modified economic order. The existence of slave labor made the growth of an efficient and self-respecting free labor group impossible. The presence of a servile group determined the form and development of political institutions—made impossible the free growth of a democratic political order. The presence of the Negroes perverted the democratic social institutions and led to the caste form of social organization.

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CHAPTER VI

AMALGAMATION AND RACIAL DIFFERENTIATION

THE ETHNIC COMPOSITION OF THE NEGRO SLAVES

The assimilation of the Negroes described in the preceding chapter—the gradual change in sentiments and attitudes, in memories and loyalties and social traditions, in manners and customs and habits of thought—the sloughing off of African and the acquisition of American social heritages—was accompanied by an amalgamation of racial groups, and an infusion of foreign blood that began a biological transformation of the race. The amalgamation assisted in the process of assimilation by the creation of an intermediate type that tended to bridge the cultural gap between the racial extremes, and the assimilation of the group, in turn, made more easy and natural the biological process of racial fusion.

But the contamination of the Negro group by intermixture with other races began long before their introduction into the American social situation. The Negroes brought to America were in the main of West African descent. For the most part they were bought or captured along the West Coast and the Guinea Negroes were by far the most numerous constituting well over fifty per cent of the total importations. But the slaves secured along the Guinea Coast were by no means all of local origin. There were representatives of many different tribal stocks from many parts of the continent. The slave trails extended far into the interior of the continent and the slave coffles came by river and forest path sometimes

for a thousand and more miles to the markets on the coast.

Moreover, the various Negro stocks were frequently very much mixed with each other. Many of the tribes were large slave holders and much contaminated by intermarriage with their captives. The domestic trade in slaves was generally active and resulted directly in a wide distribution of captive groups. There was also a very considerable scattering and intermixture of stocks as a result of the tribal wars incident to the traffic in slaves.

Not only were the Negroes of different tribal stocks: they were also in many cases modified by previous contacts with other races. The Arabs came early into contact with various of the Negro peoples and intermixed rather readily with them. From the seventh and eighth centuries the Mohammedan trade in slaves and other African commodities led to the introduction of Berber blood into many tribal groups as well as to the introduction of some Negro blood into various populations about the Mediterranean. Of the Negroes brought as slaves to America, it has been estimated that possibly one-half showed some trace of previous contact and intermixture with the white race. The Senegalese, who were commonly considered the most intelligent of the slaves and were especially in demand, had a strong Arabic strain in their ancestry. Probably one per cent of the Negroes imported were able to speak some Arabic dialect.

THE RACIAL INTERMIXTURE OF THE NEGROES AND THE AMERICAN INDIANS

In America the Negroes have intermarried rather freely with the Indians wherever the races have come into contact. The two races have had some common basis for sympathetic association, the barriers to social equality

between them have not been formidable, and there have been no legislative acts forbidding the intermixture.

Slavery of the native Indians existed in a number of the English colonies before the coming of the Negroes. Those captured in battle were in some cases sold into slavery in distant colonies. Others were kidnapped along the coast and sold as slaves in the more settled regions. The mention of Indian slaves and of slaves of Negro and Indian blood is frequent in the racial literature of the early slave period. With these enslaved Indians the Negro slaves came into close and intimate contact. The social status was the same and as slaves they met on terms of equality. Intermarriage followed and, as the body of Negro slaves increased and Indian slavery declined, the Indian slaves were gradually absorbed into the larger black population. The offspring of Indian slaves or of mixed Negro and Indian parentage came presently to be counted with the Negroes. Many of the broken tribes of coast Indians disappeared entirely into the Negro people. The amount of Indian admixture may of course not be known but was certainly very considerable. There is a similar trace of Indian blood in many white families of certain regions.

There is also a pronounced Negro strain in a number of the Indian tribes. Runaway slaves frequently made their way by accident or otherwise to the Indian camps. In some cases the Indians returned these escaped slaves to their masters; sometimes they were killed or otherwise mistreated. But in other cases they were protected and kept as slaves to the Indians among whom they sought refuge or were taken into the Indian tribes by adoption. The five civilized tribes owned many Negro slaves whom they were required to free and admit to equal Indian citizenship at the close of the American Civil War. The Seminoles in Florida had in 1834 some two hundred Negro slaves who had gone to them as runaways from

the whites and had been in turn enslaved by the Indians who intermarried freely with them. Also, other Negroes who were not classed as slaves made their way into Indian groups and many of the reservations became the joint home of Indians and free Negroes. In some cases the Negroes were more numerous than the Indians and the reservations became Negro and mulatto settlements with little more than a tradition of Indian ancestry. The so-called Croatan Indians in North Carolina, the "Redbones" of South Carolina, the "Moors" of Delaware, the "Melungeons" of West Virgina, and other similar groups of the present day are wasted Indian tribes that have been swamped by intermixture with escaped slaves, free Negroes and mulattoes, and white outlaws and rovers.

Much of the Negro-Indian intermixture has chosen to be Indian rather than Negro and so appears in the statistics. Some of the Indian tribes today are more Negro than Indian in their ancestry and many of them contain a large admixture of Negro blood.

THE EARLY INTERMIXTURE OF THE NEGROES AND THE WHITES

The miscegenation of the Negro and white people in America dates from the first appearance of the Negroes. America was a pioneer society and in most of the colonies the excess of men was very great. The paucity of white women was an important factor in overcoming racial repugnance and in stimulating the sexual use of Negro women. As time went on and the assimilation of the Negroes increased the tendency to race crossing increased. The tendency was further increased as the physical features of the subject race became somewhat modified and softened by intermixture: there was less hesitancy to sex association with the mulatto girls than with the extreme African type. Consequently the miscegenation in

the English colonies increased with the growth of the mixed-blood group.

The social composition of the colonial population favored a rapid racial intermixture.

In the English colonies there was a considerable use of indentured servants as well as of Negro slaves. These white servants formed a fairly distinct class before the coming of the Negroes. The group was of complex composition, a good number of them were free, poor people who contracted to pay the cost of passage to America by a period of labor. In the group there was a considerable number of children and others who had been kidnapped in European cities and sold into servitude in the American colonies. The group also contained many prisoners of war, political and other criminals, and dissolute persons who had been transported to rid the home country of their presence. In the group were many highly respectable and worthy persons who were poor or fallen into misfortune as well as paupers, convicts, prostitutes, and other no-account or vicious persons. In some of the colonies, notably Virginia and Maryland, this white servile class was a large and frequently a troublesome element in the population.

It was with this class of persons that the Negroes most frequently came into close contact and intimate association. At first the Negroes were in the minority. In Virginia in 1650 there were only thirty Negroes; twenty-one years later the white servants still outnumbered the Negroes three to one, and two years later they were four times as numerous as the Negro slaves. In Maryland, Pennsylvania, and some of the other colonies the same type of white servants was a numerically important element of the populations. The social condition of the two servile elements of the population was much the same: the chief difference in status was that the white servants were bound for a term of years while the Negroes were en-

slaved for life. During most of the seventeenth century there were many bonds of sympathy between the two classes. The Negroes were sought as agreeable and amusing companions. Illicit relations were inevitable and a half-breed population appeared and increased. Some of these mulatto children were the offspring of white serving women and Negro men. There were a few marriages between Negro men and low-class white women of both the servant and the free class. But the much larger percentage of the intermixture was between white men and Negro women and took place outside the marriage relation. The same sympathetic relations existed between the free Negroes and mulattoes and the low-class whites as between the Negro slaves and white servants.

The miscegenation of these servile elements early came to be a matter of concern throughout the colonies. Thoughtful men saw the dangers of this in a frontier society and denounced such unions, but the miscegenation was already advanced before the culture race realized the need of efforts to control it and maintain racial integrity. Numerous laws were enacted designed to stop racial fusion and to determine the status of mixed-blood offspring. Other laws were designed to restrain white women from marrying or cohabiting with Negroes and to fix the status of the children of such unions as had already been formed. The laws also frequently contained severe penalties designed to reduce the number of bastard children of free Negroes and mulattoes. Where the laws failed to prohibit mixed marriages, they were frequently prevented by public sentiment expressing itself through extra legal measures; mobs frequently punished the individuals who formed the odious unions.

But neither the severity of law nor the intolerance of public sentiment seemed to have much effect on the miscegenation of the races: they prevented intermarriage rather than race mixture. The clandestine intermingling

tended to increase and the illegitimate progeny of the white servants and Negro slaves became in many places a serious public burden.

The white servant class was not alone responsible for the early miscegenation of the races. There was at all times some intermixture resulting from the association of the slave owners and their female slaves. As a free Negro and mulatto class appeared numerous white men supported colored mistresses and reared families of mulatto children. In the slave-owning households, the association of the white boys with the Negro and mulatto housemaids was an important item in the racial intermixture: many slave-owners were the fathers or grandfathers of some of their slaves.

THE INTERMIXTURE OF THE RACES DURING THE PERIOD OF NATIONAL SLAVERY

The early sympathy between the white servants and the Negro slaves and the fraternizing of the two classes gradually declined as the number of Negroes increased and the distinction between the servant and the slave status became more strictly defined. The various laws designed to restrict the amalgamation emphasized racial and social differences and thus served to arouse a pride of race within the low-class white groups. The actual difference in social and economic status made by the upper classes was exaggerated by the white indentured group and the two dependent classes drifted apart. The white servants and poor whites in many cases still labored beside the slaves but they more and more held themselves socially aloof from the Negroes.

By the time that slavery became well established as an economic institution the early sympathy between the servant whites and the Negroes had been replaced by a caste and racial prejudice. Jealousies that had no place in the

mutual attitudes of the slaves and the master class developed between the Negroes and the socially inferior whites. Partly as a compensation for their own inferior status, the poor whites developed a contempt and a hatred for the Negro that was one of the characteristic features of the later slave régime. When this antipathetic attitude developed it formed a most effective barrier to social intercourse and so operated to restrict the intermixture of the races. There continued to be a good deal of clandestine association between the slave women and the rougher classes of the whites but the freedom that marked the early association of the two dependent groups in the population had little place.

Another important factor also tended to retard the intermixture of these classes. Slavery as a developed economic institution regulated rather strictly the behavior of the servile class and thus in a measure limited the opportunity for irregular sex relations between them and the general white population. This was notably the case on the larger plantations where the number of whites was small and where, in order to avoid the demoralization of the working population, the contacts of the slaves with the non-plantation population were kept at a minimum. There was also an effort in the better type of slave-holding families to instruct the Negro and mulatto house servants in the sex code of the whites and to enforce its observance by close supervision.

But there were no formidable barriers to intercourse between the slaves and the upper-class whites. The opportunity for association was practically unlimited, there was no attitude of racial jealousy to interfere, and the caste distinction was so clear that the relations of the sexes raised no question of social equality. The association of the slave-holding class and the slave women is not properly to be considered as a forced relationship. There were no doubt cases of the involuntary use of the female slaves.

But it was more usual for the relationship to be courted by the slave women and girls as a mark of distinction and this was especially true as social distinctions arose between the house servants and other occupational groups of the slave population. It is of course easily possible and very usual to exaggerate the part played by the slave-holding class in the production of the mixed-blood population. But the only effective check on the relationship was the force of public sentiment in the community and there is no reason to assume that it was not at all times a factor of importance in the intermixture of the races.

In some sections there grew up a sub-surface type of polygamy that approached an institutional form. Free Negro and mulatto girls became the mistresses of white men by whom they were supported and by whom they reared families of mulatto children. In some cases these colored mistresses and children were deserted, with or without provision for their support, when the man married a white woman; in other cases the extra-legal relation was continued and the colored family supported in addition to the lawful household and the legitimate children. This type of dual family arrangement was particularly open and highly developed in New Orleans, Mobile, and certain other points of the Lower South. The free mulatto girls, whose families were frequently persons of some wealth and culture, aspired to such unions and, so long as there was hope of contracting one, scorned to marry with Negro or mulatto men. The keeping of Negro—more usually mulatto—mistresses was not uncommon in most parts of the country throughout the later slave period. Such establishments were of course limited to those members of the white society who were economically able to assume their support.

The rapidity of the intermixture as well as the nature of the relationship was strikingly different in different communities. The chief controlling force being the public

sentiment, mixed-blood children tended to be numerous in communities where there was an apparent indifference to the relationship and few in the communities where the relationship was socially disapproved and the white men keeping Negro mistresses met public criticism and social ostracism. In the latter cases the relationship was largely confined to the low-class persons and differed only slightly from commercial prostitution; in the presence of the more tolerant social attitude the relationship frequently involved many reputable persons in the community, was more largely based upon some sentimental attachment, and was frequently of enough permanence to take on many of the attributes of regular family life.

As previously stated, the chief factor controlling the amount of intermixture was the opportunity for the contact of the races. Where the Negroes were numerous and the whites few, as on many of the plantations in the South, and in the more rural regions generally, the relative amount of race crossing was small. The rural Negroes were in large part segregated and their few contacts with the whites restricted to the plantation overseers. Where the proportion of Negroes in the population was less the intermixture was greater because the opportunities for interracial contacts were more numerous. There was always relatively more intermixture in the towns and cities, where opportunity for clandestine relations were numerous and where the proportion of mulatto girls was greater than in the rural districts. The percentage of mulattoes and their rate of increase was also much higher in the Northern and border states than in the South. The difference in the rate of intermixture between town and country and between South and North was perhaps less than the mulatto statistics indicate. There were some selective tendencies at work. The mulattoes were always considered to be more capable than the black Negroes and were in greater demand as house and personal

servants. The percentage of house servants was greater in the cities than on the plantations. There was in consequence a tendency toward an urbanization of mulattoes that accounts in part for their relative increase in the towns and cities as compared with the rural districts. There was also some northward migration of mulattoes produced elsewhere. Slave owners frequently freed their mulatto progeny and relatives and sent them into free territory. There were also in these Northern regions a large number of free Negroes and mulattoes whose behavior was not supervised as was that of the slaves. The intermarriage of these mulattoes and their intermarriage with the black Negroes tended to increase the number of mulattoes. It is also true that the domestic slave trade took South a larger number of black than of mixed-blood Negroes. All of these things tended to increase the mulatto ratio of the North. While the selective factors account in some part for the relatively high percentage of mulattoes in the Northern regions and in the urban districts, there is also no question that the intermixture was decidedly more rapid in these environments. In the northern tier of slave states the percentage of mulattoes and their increase was greater than in states farther south: the slaves had greater freedom, they constituted a smaller percentage of the population, and their opportunities for clandestine association with the whites were more numerous.

RACIAL INTERMIXTURE IN THE PERIOD FOLLOWING THE EMANCIPATION OF THE SLAVES

Following the Civil War and the freeing of the Negroes there was a very great increase in the amount of racial intermixture. Slavery had shielded many members of the race from contacts with white men and probably operated on the whole to somewhat retard amalgamation. But

slavery very generally failed to teach a sex code that would be effective when the institutional restraints were removed and the crisis of emancipation resulted in a prolonged period of sex irregularity and racial intermixture. Out of this period of social disorganization and personal demoralization there gradually appeared a sex code consistent with the new social and economic status.

THE PRESENT STATUS OF RACIAL AMALGAMATION

In treating the nature and rate of the present day racial amalgamation it is necessary in the first place to remember that the amount of intermixture does not appear in the statistics. The enumeration figures show, within a rather wide range of error, the absolute and relative increase of the mulatto population. But the hybrid population may now increase without further intermixture and would in fact continue to increase were the race to receive no additional admixture of white blood. Mulattoes very generally marry other persons of mixed blood and to the extent that births exceed deaths there is a natural increase of the hybrid population. But mulattoes also intermarry with little hesitation Negroes of full blood, and the offspring, unless the amount of white admixture is very small, are counted as mulattoes rather than as Negroes. The hybrid population is also increased by the offspring from both Negro and mulatto crosses with white persons. The increase of the full-blood Negroes may come only by marriages or extra-matrimonial relations between individuals both of whom are of unmixed Negro ancestry. Neither the increase of mulattoes nor their relative increase is a measure of the extent to which racial fusion goes on.

On the other hand, the intermixture of the races may go on without the fact being reflected in the enumeration figures. So far as the crossing is between white persons

and Negroes of full-blood the mulatto offspring appear in the statistics as additions to the hybrid group. But this is the only type of crossing that registers in the statistics. If the crossing is between white persons and mulattoes or between mulattoes and Negroes of full blood, the fact of intermixture does not appear. It is in the one case a farther infusion of white blood into an already mixed population and in the other a diffusion of white blood that already contaminates the Negro stock. A very great deal of the amalgamation in process is due to relations between white persons and mulattoes and between mulattoes and individuals of unmixed Negro blood, but since the statistics measure the fact and do not measure the degree of hybridization both these types of racial fusion are omitted.

At the present time as in the past, intermarriage of the Negroes and whites is responsible for a negligible part of the racial amalgamation. In the early colonial days mixed marriages were occasionally contracted between Negroes and members of the indentured servant class. But such unions usually aroused a public indignation that expressed itself in severe prohibitionary laws. Where this was not the case, they were prohibited by the popular sentiment of the white community. After the status of the Negroes became fixed and generally understood racial intermarriages almost never occurred; there were none in the slave states and very few in other parts of the country. There was some increase during the sentimental period centering about the Civil War but the number was not great. In the period since the Emancipation, intermarriages have been rare. It is not possible to know the exact number but such figures as are obtainable show the number to be negligible—an average of perhaps less than one hundred per year. Such marriages are prohibited in all of the Southern states and in many states of the North and West. Where there is no legal prohibition,

they nevertheless take place rarely; white sentiment is everywhere opposed to such unions and a similar attitude has recently appeared in the Negro population.

The mixed marriages that are from time to time solemnized are most frequently of white women with Negro or mulatto men. The cases of white men marrying Negro women are rare. In almost every case the white persons contracting mixed marriages are of the lower economic strata of the population. In many cases they are recent immigrants who have not acquired the American prejudice against social intercourse with the Negro people. A high percentage of the Negroes who contract mixed marriages are mulattoes and other light-colored individuals.

Nearly all the intermixture of the races goes on at the present time outside the marriage relation. The extent of the racial sex association may not be asserted. As pointed out above, the statistics of the hybrid population furnishes us no check, and, since any sex relation outside the conventional marriage bond violates the middle-class code, the diverse dogmatic opinions of casual observers reflect the conventional sex attitudes rather than the objective situation. There has been no objective study on which an estimate may be based.

There is at present, as earlier, a certain amount of concubinage of colored women with white men. The mutual attraction of individuals of different racial extraction occasionally leads to sex association of a more or less permanent nature. The law prevents the marriage of the persons, keeps the relationship outside the realm of formal approval, but is of course powerless to control the association itself. As a result there are numerous Negro and mulatto women supported by white men and engaged in bearing and rearing their children. In some localities such relations are tolerated by the community, if not sanctioned by the local standards, and mixed families are

fairly common. In other places the public attitude is less tolerant and such relations far less frequent. They have frequently been the occasion or excuse for the action by mobs and self-appointed discipline committees.

The sex contact of the races is for the most part aside from intermarriage or even from the custom of kept women. It is at the present time a relationship very closely bordering upon prostitution, and bears little resemblance to the unlawful but more or less decent and orderly concubinage of Negro and mulatto girls. In many communities there is little or no check upon such association of the races. The sex code of a very considerable percentage of the Negro population is not strict. Illicit relations within the race are common, and between the races such association is pretty much at the will of the white man. This of course must not be interpreted as a general indictment of the chastity of Negro women. The standards of a large and increasing percentage of the race are no doubt as conventional as those of any group in the population.

The racial sex behavior also varies with differences in community sentiment. The opportunities for the association of Negro and white persons are more frequent in the cities and towns than in the open country and the relationship may be concealed with relative ease. But there is also a marked difference between different communities. In many bi-racial communities in the South there is very little racial intermixture in process; in other communities the amount is very great. Any general statement is subject to many exceptions.

It is probable that the present contact of the races has less influence than formerly in the production of mulatto children; Negroes as well as whites are learning how to avoid the consequences of indulgence. It is also true that much of the present association of the races is between the sporting elements and has little effect upon the

birth rate. On the part of the better elements there is a strong and growing sentiment opposed to all associations leading to farther amalgamation.

THE PHYSICAL AND CULTURAL DIFFERENTIATION OF THE NEGROES IN THE AMERICAN ENVIRONMENT

The transplantation of the Negroes resulted in a rapid modification of the physical type and in a remarkable differentiation of physical types. But the cultural differences that developed among the slaves were even more marked than the physical differences that appeared. In general the Negroes were in a barbarian stage of culture but there were great differences between tribal stocks. Some were still in savagery, others, particularly certain tribes that had been influenced by the Arab and other foreign contacts, had shown some sporadic examples of culture progress. In consequence the African captives differed considerably in the material facts of their culture as well as in custom, language, and tradition. In the American situation the social heritage of the transplanted groups was quickly sloughed off. As previously pointed out, the rapidity with which they acquired control of the American body of culture facts was directly proportional to their opportunity for social contact. This was determined by a combination of chance factors

It was not, however, until the close of the slave régime that the individuality of the Negroes could appear fully. The Emancipation gave the first opportunity for the generality of the race to test their abilities and display their talents. In freedom, the cultural differentiation observable in slavery continued at an accelerated rate. The period of freedom is still too brief for the group to have outlived the effects of the earlier status, but in the time that they have been at liberty to move about and make

individual selection of occupation and type of life there has been a realignment of men on the basis of interest and ability and an increase in personal differences. Amalgamation has continued and the physical types range from the near-white to the unmixed black with every degree of mixture and every variety of modified Negro features. The bulk of the race have remained agricultural laborers but individuals have established themselves in practically every type of economic activity. Educational differentiation has been very great, and the group embraces every type of person from those as illiterate and backward as the slaves to those possessed of the training afforded by modern universities.

As a result of the various differentiating factors that have been in operation—differences in race and tribal origin, unequal intermixture of blood, differences in legal and social status, varying degrees of restriction upon mobility and choice of occupation, differences in type and degree of isolation, and other forces making for differences in men—the social and racial heterogeneity of the group has greatly increased during the period of American residence. Ethnic differences, relatively small among the captive Negroes, have increased through the continued infusion of white blood until the group now includes every type of racial mixture from the near-white to the full black. The extremes of physical and racial type are greater among the American Negroes than among any other similar population. The negligible cultural differences that characterized the captive slaves have gradually widened: some have advanced but slightly beyond the African culture level, others have reached in all essential respects the highest standards of European civilization. The relative uniformity in the race and culture that characterized the captive Negroes has given place to a diversity as great as that which characterizes any modern people.

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CHAPTER VII

PREJUDICE, ISOLATION AND SOCIAL PROGRESS

RACIAL ANTIPATHY AND RACIAL PREJUDICE

The universal fear of things new and strange to individual experience has its roots deep in the original nature of man. There is a negative organic reaction to stimuli offensive to the senses. Vile smelling and foul tasting objects excite disgust; there is an involuntary shrinking in the presence of ugly and repulsive objects and of diseased and deformed persons; slimy substances are offensive; there is a general human shrinking from blood and bloody things. Similar antipathies may be observed elsewhere in the animal world: the dog is violently excited at the first odor of a camel; cattle and horses run amuck at the odor of blood.

These antipathies—organic attitudes—presumably have been of some biological utility in the evolutionary process: their universality cannot well be understood except in terms of survival value. The fundamental and intimate way in which many offensive things are related to the senses of taste and smell indicates their utility in food choices; the involuntary withdrawal in the presence of strange phenomena suggests a selective adaptation to an environment in which danger was inherent in the unfamiliar.

Whatever may have been the origin or biological utility of these original attitudes, they may be conditioned and controlled, if not eliminated, with relative ease and modified, or opposing reactions determined in the indi-

vidual's social experience. It is, for example, the force of convention rather than the native reactions that determine many food habits: oysters, fish, eggs, milk, and many other things are not originally attractive items of diet. Also, the needs of the organism may override, temporarily at least, the native antipathies and give rise to behavior contrary to them: extreme hunger may lead to the use, as food, of substances that at other times are highly offensive; excited sex passion may overcome the normal aversion to contact with strange or dirty persons.

On the other hand, these organic attitudes may be modified, culturally conditioned, and extended into the social field. Disgusts arise fundamentally from the sense of taste and smell in connection with food, but the range of objects becomes extended by association, resemblance, and analogy until disgusts are aroused by purely conventional stimuli that are in a remote way only connected with the senses. A natural aversion to certain things, in the presence of a habitual code of personal cleanliness acquired in the primary group situation, may be conditioned into an aversion to dirt unknown to the child, the savage, the peasant, and other unspoiled persons. By farther extension it may be made to include things displeasing to the mental and moral sentiments of the fit and proper. This cultural extension of organic attitudes is basic to the characteristically negative reactions toward individuals and groups with food habits, moral customs, social beliefs, or other behavior patterns of unfamiliar type.

In these extensions we are in the realm of prejudice rather than in that of native reaction. Contrasted to the native antipathies, prejudices are always attitudes acquired in or as a result of social experience. They may exist wholly apart from and independent of any organic repulsive reaction, or the two, as just pointed out, may be connected in more or less intimate and subtle ways. The

antipathies may determine or help to determine the social attitudes, in which case the prejudices are merely an extension into the social realm of socially modified antipathies.

The antipathies may be and probably are an essential element in the explanation of racial prejudice. Fears, vague or well-defined, appear always to arise in the presence of uncontrolled phenomena and they are always present in racial contacts until time has allowed the opposing groups to become mutually accommodated to a mutually worked out social order and the individuals of each race habituated to the racial status. The disgusts also play an important rôle. The human animal has the vestiges of a sense of smell that at one time in racial evolution functioned strongly and it is even now stimulated by and reacts to odors, and so determines personal prejudices, without the conscious awareness of the person. At the same time the bodies of all men secrete aromatic substances which rather quickly become rancid. The body odor differs from individual to individual and from race to race. That characteristic of the individuals of one race is commonly offensive to individuals of other races: the Japanese and other Orientals profess an extreme dislike for the body odor of white persons; to many white persons the characteristic body odor of the Negro is nauseating; and certain African Negroes have commented upon the disagreeably rancid odor of the white man. The extensive use of aromatic substances for toilet purposes reflects a folk realization that body odors are personally offensive.

Strong racial prejudices whether independent of or supplementary to organic attitudes were unquestionably of utilitarian value in the conditions prevailing throughout most of the life of man. In most times and places, the unknown was the dangerous, the familiar was the safe. The fear of the strange was a character of survival value. And it is a fact not without significance in the present

connection that the fear of the strange and the prejudice of race are most prominent and active in the provincial groups.

THE EARLY ATTITUDES OF THE WHITES TOWARD THE NEGROES

The early attitude of the American colonists and settlers toward the Negroes was determined by physical rather than by conventional facts. The slaves were of a strange race and the physical type was, from the point of view of the white people, ugly and personally repulsive. They were coarse and degraded persons of strange habits and uncouth behavior. In the presence of these facts, the common attitude was one of avoidance; the ill-defined native fear of the strange and unknown was reinforced by the more definite reaction to the personal traits resulting from rude culture and servile status.

But when personal characteristics become familiar they may cease to be offensive: the repulsive reactions may disappear without change in the marks that at first excited them. As the Negro slaves became a regular part of the environment and habitual relations were established, conventional attitudes replaced the original reactions. The body odor, the divergent appearance, and other physical marks of the race ceased to be offensive or even noticed once they were no longer strange. But the fact that for the most part they ceased to be conscious phenomena enhanced rather than lessened their rôle in the social situation. They helped to determine personal relationships and to define status in subtle and little understood ways once they ceased to excite a pronounced negative reaction.

The fact that the Negroes were not Christians was a factor of importance in fixing their status and in determining the early attitudes of the whites. The strange and crude beliefs and practices of the slaves, in a time

when much importance was attached to such matters, helped to fix a gulf between the races. Their very low stage of culture development set them apart from the other race and gave a farther basis for assigning them an inferior position in the society. The language isolation tended to put them more or less into the category of dumb brutes. The nature of the work in which they were engaged helped to fix the popular attitude toward them. And various other more or less incidental facts of life and culture set them apart and helped to fix their social status.

Many of the things originally significant in determining the relations of the races disappeared after a little contact with the white civilization. The slaves soon acquired something of the technology, language, manners, customs, religion, and general culture of the white man. But the antipathetic reactions to the strange race, though often lost sight of in the customary situation, remained to reinforce the social attitudes fixed in the early contacts. These attitudes persisted and constantly were reinforced owing to the continued importation of raw Negroes. A category was defined in terms descriptive of the work, habits, and general behavior of the common slaves. The position of individuals was then fixed in categorical terms: as Negroes, individuals were assumed to have the characteristics of the type. Without knowledge of the origin or consciousness of the basis, a common attitude toward Negroes as such passed into and became an integral part of the culture tradition.

THE EFFECT OF THE SLAVE INSTITUTIONS IN THE FIXATION OF RACIAL ATTITUDES

As the slave status of the Negroes became an accepted fact and an understood relation there was little place for racial prejudice. Like every other slave régime that in America was characterized by a more or less complete and

perfect accommodation of both the subject and the master race. On the part of the slave was the tendency to submit to the will of another, to expect and accept direction. On the part of the master, to command and assume leadership was a necessity. In the situation the slaves acquired the character that the masters demanded; their characters conformed to what the whites wanted but did not themselves want to be. It was a caste order of society in which the slaves had a definite place which they understood and accepted. They were not only in a position of inferiority but they accepted the inferior status as a part of the natural order. The whites were in a position of superiority and they accepted the position with little if any more fundamental criticism.

There was, of course, throughout the slave period some fear of Negro uprisings and at times these fears became acute and led to harsh treatment of the servile group. Among the laboring and non-slave-holding whites there was sometimes a bitter hatred of the Negroes. But race prejudice as such was not an important factor during the slave period. The Negro had a clearly defined place in the social economy and he was in his place. There was a uniform enforcement of the inferior status. So far as there was prejudice it was that of caste rather than that of race and it expressed itself toward the free Negro rather than toward the slave. Within the slave system itself there was a reciprocal accommodation of the races so there was no place for racial prejudice.

In the situation there presently came into existence a body of opinion in justification and support of the existing social order and of the relative place of each race in that order. Like every social order the slave-holding society had a philosophy to explain its practices and justify its existence. The philosophy was very simple and direct. The Negroes were in a servile position and possessed the social and psychological marks inevitably resulting from

it. These characteristics were a matter of common observation, so could be taken and were taken as fundamental data. The ignorance, indolence, vice, shiftlessness, untruthfulness, dishonesty, and other traits were, in the thought of the time, evidence and proof of the inferiority of the race, and the inferiority was accepted as the reason for the inferior status and justified its continuance. The poor showing of the free Negroes was further evidence, when any was needed, that the race was not capable of self-direction and needed the tutelage of the white. The facts were as patent to the Negroes as to the whites and were given the same interpretation in their body of thought.

The total effect of the slavery experience was to build up an elaborate race and class hierarchy with characteristic sentiments and attitudes and with a body of rationalization designed to explain the peculiarities of status and to make life tolerable within the limits defined.

THE GROWTH OF PREJUDICE AND THE CULTURAL ISOLATION OF THE NEGROES

Racial prejudice against the Negro in America is a heritage of slavery but it is very largely a development and characteristic of freedom. It is a phenomenon that exists in the region of incomplete control. There was no place for it when the Negro was in and accepted a legally defined servile status. It is most pronounced today in the stratum of the white population least secure in its economic and social superiority to the Negroes. It is most active in the sections of the country where the Negroes have made the greatest advancement and where they are most disposed to insist upon fair and equal treatment.

The sudden emancipation of the slaves destroyed the economic and social organization of the South. The caste order that had prevailed throughout the history of the

section was left without legal support. The Negroes were legally changed from dependents and slaves into free and independent persons. The former master and the former slave were made legally equal and each was made the peer of the man of the poor-white class.

But the reciprocal attitudes could not and did not undergo a correspondingly sudden and radical change. These personal attitudes, which had been for two centuries and a half in process of growth and definition had become an integral part of the psychology of both white and Negro. They remained after as they had been before the granting of freedom. The Negro continued to look up to the white man as superior and the white man continued to look upon the Negro as an inferior and a child. The social and class distinctions between the races and within each race and the supporting sentimental complexes were not immediately disturbed by the legal change in status. There was no immediate change in fundamental relations: between the old masters and their former slaves there continued to exist a high degree of mutual sympathy and understanding.

But gradually and by degrees the basis of the old order disappeared and a new order made its appearance. With the death of the older masters and their former slaves the sentimental bonds weakened and presently, with the maturing of individuals who had not known slavery, the break between the races was relatively complete. The long period of disorganized social life and of personal demoralization contributed to the growing loss of sympathy. On the positive side the change in legal status brought an increased number of Negroes into direct and individual competition with the white laboring classes and increased the traditional hatred for these groups. And there were added sources of friction as Negroes advanced in wealth, education, and self-respect. The Negro

menial of humble attitude was known and accepted; often he had the affection and sometimes the respect of white men. The independent and self-respecting Negro was intolerable. Racial antagonisms increased as the efforts of individuals to advance resulted in business and other relations implying equality.

As the races drifted apart in sympathy and understanding prejudice increased. This was in part a prejudice of race and in part a caste prejudice. The fear of the Negro —partly an emotion of native origin, partly a vague uneasiness respecting the behavior of the depressed and exploited—came to be a universal and persistent element of the white psychology. The aversion to individual and personal association and the inability to accept the individual Negro as a concrete reality increased as the races drew apart. But in the South the important prejudice was against the Negro out of his traditional status. There was a fixed conception of the place of the Negro in the social order and a dislike for him in any other relation. There continued to be a liking for individual Negroes, a toleration of their faults, an understanding of their problems, and a recognition of them as personalities. The caste prejudice is not a dislike of the Negro as a person but a dislike for him in a certain relation. The prejudice expresses itself as an intolerant insistence upon the customary caste relationship.

As the races drew apart and prejudice and misunderstanding developed, the cultural isolation of the Negroes increased. Presently there were efforts to institutionalize and make permanent the isolation in order to reinstate and perpetuate the caste order. The Negro was to be kept in his place by preventing his participation in the community life. The disfranchisement of the race and the segregation movement exemplify the concrete development.

THE ENFRANCHISEMENT AND THE DISENFRANCHISEMENT OF THE NEGROES

In the early Colonial days there were no laws limiting the franchise to white men. Political discriminations grew slowly in practice but it was only after a hundred years that they found legal definition.

In 1715 North Carolina passed an act disfranchising the Negroes, mulattoes, and the Indians but a royal edict in 1734 commanding its repeal guaranteed all freemen the right to vote. The law as reënacted about the middle of the century limited the suffrage to freeholders; the free Negroes, at least in law, met no discrimination. South Carolina inserted the word "white" in the franchise law of 1716 and retained it in later enactments and in the state constitution. Virginia passed an act in 1705 forbidding Negroes to hold office and in 1723 they were disfranchised. The latter act was repealed by proclamation after being in force for over a decade. The final and complete disfranchisement of the Negro in Virginia came in 1762. The Georgia law was passed a year earlier and the limitation was written into the constitution of 1777.

During the period from the Revolution to the Civil War the Negroes in general did not vote. In some states—Virginia, South Carolina, Florida, Alabama, and a number of others—the ballot was specifically limited to white men. North Carolina did not have a definite color qualification in her franchise laws and it is uncertain whether or not it was the intention of the constitution of 1776 to exclude the free Negroes. They appear to have voted without opposition until the activities of the colonization and emancipation societies aroused a popular hostility. The revised constitution of 1835 excluded them from the suffrage. This act marked the end of Negro suffrage in the South until after the Civil War.

The attitude of the Northern and Western states was less uniform than in the South but it was not always more liberal. Certain of the New England States with a negligible number of Negroes made no mention of color as a voting qualification. Vermont in 1838 and New Hampshire in 1857 passed laws stating that Negroes should not be excluded from the ballot. But Maine was the only New England state in which the Negroes were actually allowed to participate equally with the whites. In certain states Negroes were at first allowed to vote and at a later date denied the privilege. Most of the middle group of states either withdrew or restricted their suffrage. A color qualification was introduced in Delaware in 1792, in Kentucky in 1799, in Maryland in 1809, in Connecticut in 1818, in New Jersey in 1820, and in Pennsylvania in 1838. All of the new Western States refused the Negro the privilege of voting. Certain of the states—California, Colorado, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Michigan, Mississippi, Nebraska, Nevada, Ohio, Oregon, Utah, and Wisconsin—limited the suffrage to the white men from the beginning. Of all the states that fought for the preservation of the union only four granted suffrage to the Negroes on the same terms as to the whites. In 1861 the Negroes were allowed to vote in but five of the thirty-four states, Maine, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and New York.

Immediately following the Civil War the right of suffrage was extended to Negroes on the same basis as to the whites. Federal pressure amounting to compulsion led the state conventions to adopt constitutions enfranchising the freedmen. The fifteenth amendment to the federal constitution ratified in 1870 safeguarded the newly-acquired political rights by forestalling any attempt to withdraw the franchise by later changes in the state constitutions. It removed all suffrage restrictions on the

basis of race in the Northern as well as in the Southern states.

Almost immediately a movement arose in the Southern states to prevent the participation of the Negroes in political affairs. The size of the vote was materially reduced by intimidation, violence, and fraud as the whites regained political control. After 1876 the Negro vote ceased to be an item of importance in the state governments.

It presently became evident that the illegal prohibition of Negro suffrage could not continue indefinitely and about 1890 began a movement to disfranchise them by legal means. The fifteenth amendment was an effective bar to direct legislative action; the problem was to devise measures that would apply to the Negroes but not to the whites without at the same time violating the prohibition on special race legislation. The state of Mississippi in the amended constitution of 1890 limited the franchise to those who paid poll taxes and were able to read any section of the constitution or were able to "understand the same when read to them and give a reasonable interpretation thereof." Fairly executed this would have debarred alike the illiterates of both races, but it was easily possible for registration officials to rule anyone unqualified after examination. In practice it was applied to Negroes only.

Among other constitutional amendments adopted to circumvent the "race, color, or previous condition of servitude" clause of the fifteenth amendment to the Federal Constitution was the famous "grandfather clause." This provided that all persons who had served in the army or navy of the United States in any of its wars, all who served in the Confederate army or navy, or of the state in which they resided, and all lawful descendants of such persons might register to vote provided they possessed the other necessary qualifications. In Louisiana and North Carolina the form of this clause provided for the

registration of all persons who had a right to vote prior to 1867 and of their lawful descendants. This type of legislation was ruled unconstitutional by the Supreme Court of the United States in 1915.

Various other restrictions on the suffrage appear in constitutional provisions of general nature but capable of special application. Educational and property qualifications are most common. These include such things as the demonstrated ability to read and write, the ability to interpret the constitution of the United States, and the ownership of a stipulated amount of property. There is in general no objection to such laws. The states are clearly within their rights in limiting the suffrage to intelligent and property-holding citizens and it is possibly a wise governmental policy to do so. But that there is racial discrimination in the administration of the laws is seldom denied. Several states require the prepayment of a poll tax, sometimes for a considerable term of years, as a voting qualification and in two of the states proof of the payment must be shown at the polls. The tax provision probably prevents more Negroes from voting than does any other restriction: the masses of the race are not sufficiently interested in the suffrage to pay a poll tax if it can be escaped.

It is generally assumed that the application of the various constitutional provisions is such as practically to disfranchise the race in the South. It would be of interest to know the extent to which legally qualified Negroes are discriminated against and prevented from registering and voting. In some states and parts of states where there are two parties a considerable number do vote at all elections; in other states the Negro vote is small. But there has been no recent investigation of the subject that has any objective value; it is not known to what extent the laws are made to apply to one race and not to the other.

The one-party system in the South is more effective in eliminating the Negro from participation in the political life than are the constitutional and legal provisions. The historic fear of Negro domination prevents the political division of the whites even on local issues. The result is that in most states of the South the nomination of a Democratic candidate is equivalent to his election. The Republican party exists but is without competitive power. In the Democratic primaries voting is restricted to the whites. This is strictly legal since it is within the rights of any political party to limit its membership in any way that it sees fit.

The Negroes are out of politics but they dominate the whole political situation. Their agitation for reënfranchisement rouses deep-seated fears and prejudices and intensifies the determination of the masses to prevent it.

THE ENFORCED SEGREGATION AND CULTURAL EXCLUSION OF THE NEGROES

The segregation movement is another expression of the growth and hardening of racial prejudices and the consequent increasing social isolation of the Negroes. It may be viewed as a process by which individuals in the free society redistributed themselves in accordance with natural ability and personal interest, and how this natural tendency was in part directed and controlled and everywhere limited by the existing racial and caste attitudes. From the point of view of social condition, the movement shows the gradually increasing exclusion of the group and the isolation of its members from social contacts and from participation in the general cultural life.

In many relations of life a fairly complete separation of the races existed throughout the slave period. The slaves were a group apart and had no participating part in the public life. The arrangement of their life experi-

ences was subject to arbitrary control; it differed with family and master but there was general uniformity. They were generally provided with living quarters apart from the whites. Their church and religious activities were frequently separate and in all mixed congregate groups they had a segregated place. They had their own amusements and provisions for recreation and took no part in those of the whites. Their dead were buried apart. The civil rights of the free Negroes were restricted in numerous ways both in law and custom and their cultural isolation in some cases was equal to that of the slaves.

With freedom the separation of the races increased. On the side of the Negro group there was a voluntary segregation in many of the relations of life and the beginnings of a semi-independent racial life. With the readjustment of the social and economic order the whites placed various legal restrictions upon the activities of the Negroes, in part as police measures looking toward harmony in race relations and in part as repressive measures designed to maintain the customary status of inferiority. Efforts at residential segregation by law and ordinance grew up to restrain individuals who for one reason or another wished to live outside the Negro sections. The present recognition that the exclusion policy, by keeping the race together and forcing them to develop their own institutions, operated to their economic welfare and to the development of self-confidence and self-respect led to its being advocated and extended not only as a device for avoiding racial disorder but as an effective legal method of inducing the Negroes to take some advantage of the wonderful economic advantages open before them.

The movement was somewhat retarded by certain acts of the federal government. The Emancipation Proclamation, read into the fundamental law in the form of a thirteenth amendment, specifically guaranteed the Negroes the same rights as enjoyed by other citizens. A little later

the Civil Rights Bill stated that "all people within the jurisdiction of the United States should be entitled to full and equal enjoyment of accommodations, advantages, facilities, privileges of inns, public conveyances on land and water, theaters, and other places of public amusement, subject only to conditions established by law applicable to citizens of every race and color." Social status is an intangible thing little subject to control by legislative edict. It resides ultimately in the attitude of the people and the status enforced in the practices of the society may depart indefinitely from the status as defined by law. The Negroes did not anywhere enjoy the equality defined by the legislative bodies, but these acts stood in the way of a systematic legal isolation. When the Supreme Court of the United States in 1883 declared the federal bill of rights unconstitutional and returned the explicit civil rights of the Negroes to the control of the states the chief barrier was removed and the states with a large Negro population took advantage of the judicial decision to enforce distinctions through all the various relations of social and civil life.

The church life of the races was separated by the voluntary withdrawal of the Negroes. The schools were separated by legislative acts of the whites. The disorder resulting from the mingling of the races in public conveyances was the occasion for separate accommodations on trains, electric lines, and street cars as well as in depots and other public places. The separation of the races came to be enforced in theatres and practically all other places of amusement. They were excluded from hotels and restaurants. They were denied the use of libraries and often excluded from lectures and public concerts. The tendency after the eighties was toward an extensive and intensive application of a policy of segregation.

THE INDEPENDENT REORGANIZATION OF NEGRO LIFE

The growing prejudice and separation of the races was an incidental, probably inevitable, result of working out a new basis of relations. It was necessary to make some adjustment in accordance with the changed legal status. There was no precedent to furnish guidance: no two races had ever evolved mutally satisfactory working relations except on the basis of superiority and subordination, the enslavement of the one by the other. The transition to a new order that held any promise of being either mutually satisfactory or relatively permanent was not easy. There was no intellectual leadership either North or South able to visualize a free, democratic, social order. The South was so thoroughly habituated to a slave régime that only the rare individual could picture any other tolerable order; the North was equally profoundly habituated to the master man relationship functioning through a wage system. A reorganization of the society on the basis of human values did not come within the orbit of thought of either section. The actual direction of affairs was at all times in the hands of politicians and on the level of popular thought: there was no statesmanlike policy. The period of doctrinaire experimentation following the War was too brief and weak to work any thoroughgoing change in the institutional life or to form new habits of thought and action, and the leadership was too unintelligent and uninformed to initiate any vital social movement. The withdrawal of foreign influence from the South and the restoration of local control did not improve the quality of the statesmanship. The long, stupid period of trial and error that followed was characterized by an absence of political and social vision and dominated by a fixed determination to restore and maintain as much as possible of the former order.

On the side of the Negroes the changed legal status

necessitated a profound social reorganization and the period of psychological and social transition from a slave to a free order was one of bewildered disorder, of individual demoralization, of personal failure. The natural difficulty of reaccommodation was intensified by the anticipation of a governmental redistribution of real property. The problem of the Negroes was to adjust behavior to the social policy of the whites which they were powerless to control. The separation of the races, whether as a voluntary act or in compliance with the exclusion laws and ordinances of the whites, isolated the Negroes, shut them out more or less effectively from culture contact, stimulation, and example. The race was forced back upon itself, forced to depend upon its own leaders for guidance, forced to reorganize the social life upon a semi-independent basis. But there was no real racial leadership, no trained men. The greatest economic opportunity ever presented to the peasantry of any country was before the freedmen, but they were not prepared to accept it and there were no leaders to direct them along the obvious line of racial advance. The natural reaction of the newly-freed individuals was away from the type of life on which their advance depended. Labor was associated with servitude; it was the badge and symbol of inferior status. The numerous individuals who entered the South at the close of the war with aspirations to racial leadership were in the great majority of cases unfitted for the task: they were indoctrinated with the sentimental prepossessions of abolitionism and uninformed as to the social and economic situation of the region and as to Negro character. Bewildered, ignorant, and without intelligent leadership, the Negroes were a helpless and economically exploited group in the population.

Out of the confusion a reorganized Negro life came into being. Its form was determined by the immediate demands of the local situation, not by any design or

statesmanlike policy or forethought. The new interracial relations that grew up came as blind trial and error adjustments.

Economically the races were and remained mutually dependent—the whites upon the Negroes for labor, the Negroes upon the whites for the opportunity to work for the means to existence—and work relations, suited to the local economy and the type of labor, were developed. But in almost every other relation of life the races were separated, either by voluntary withdrawal or by compulsory exclusion, and independent and race-limited institutions grew up to serve the needs of the segregated people. The church organizations, in some cases separated before the Emancipation, were the first to develop and for a time the whole social and intellectual life centered about them. But other institutions followed and the number and variety increased as the life of the races became more separate.

The growth of an independent Negro life reacted in the situation to increase the cleavage between the races: as they gained in experience, so in individual and racial self-confidence, the tendency to a voluntary and complete separation increased. It marked the beginning of a sense of racial unity, a race consciousness, which, however, did not reach an articulate stage before the present century.

The advance of the Negroes during the first half century of their liberation was slow. Their success in many places and in many lines was retarded by the prejudice and discrimination of the whites, the separation of the races deprived them of much needed advice and encouragement and isolated them from valuable culture contacts. A spurious leadership often directed attention away from the obvious business of life in the circumstances, stimulated racial antagonisms, and encouraged futile and unprofitable types of activity. But measured by any of the conventional standards there was progress.

The amount of privately owned property, chiefly in the form of homes and farms, increased; there was a steady growth in the value of churches, school houses, and the like owned by racial organizations. The number of business enterprises increased. There was an increase in education and a rapid decline in the percentage of illiteracy. The stability of family life increased. In many respects the moral standards improved.

The progress of the race in various lines and certain consequences of racial prejudice and cultural isolation will be considered in following chapters.

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CHAPTER VIII

THE HEALTH OF THE NEGRO

THE PROBLEM OF NEGRO HEALTH

One of the most serious problems of the present day American South is the condition of the public health. The sickness and death rates from tuberculosis, pellagra, the hookworm disease, typhoid and malarial fevers, and from other less well advertised diseases are excessively high. The absence of accurate registration statistics makes a comparative quantitative statement difficult but that the South is far behind other sections of the country and other parts of the white world in the matter of freedom from infectious disease is not open to question. The health conditions are so bad that certain life insurance companies refuse to write policies in some of the Gulf States.

This backward condition of the South is due in some part to the attitude of indifference that the white people have assumed toward the welfare of the Negro people. The health problems of the Negroes have not been a matter of social interest. The housing and sanitary conditions have been neglected and, in consequence, their health compares very unfavorably with that of other classes in the population. Since they are an important numerical element of the population, their high sickness and death rates materially lower the average health and efficiency standards of the population.

But the Negro affects the health of the nation, particularly of the South, in a far more significant way.

The white people of the South cannot establish and maintain high health and efficiency standards while neglecting the vital welfare of the Negro people. The contact of the races is such that the health of the one is conditioned by that of the other. The Negroes serve and care for the whites, prepare their food, wash their clothing, nurse their children, and otherwise come into frequent and intimate contact with them. In such circumstances the ill health of the Negro inevitably contaminates the whites. Many communities have followed the short sighted policy of providing more or less adequately for the medical inspection of white school children, while neglecting to provide similar inspection for the Negro school children. So far as infectious diseases are concerned such a policy defeats itself: infection arising in the Negro quarters spreads rapidly to the white schools and there undoes the work of the medical inspection. Where the population is a bi-racial one, a diseased colored community means a diseased white community; the mutual interdependence of the racial groups is such that most public health measures must fail unless they include both racial elements.

Poor health on the part of the Negro operates to the social disadvantage in other ways. The economic loss resulting from sickness is enormous. The worker's chief asset is his ability to work continuously and effectively. Sickness detracts from his industrial efficiency and this is a matter of concern to the individual employer unless the existence of a redundant labor supply makes it possible for him to secure other workers without additional expense. But to the worker, ill health means the loss of wages so a more intense poverty with its consequences of greater economic exploitation and lower living standards. To the family it means an increase of woman and child labor with their results in the way of ignorance, illiteracy, social inefficiency, and general cultural retardation. It puts an additional burden upon the efficient members of

the group in that the results of their labor must support the diseased and inefficient persons. It handicaps the economic and social advance of the group. When a person is injured or sick the society suffers a serious loss; a loss in both goods and services. It has been estimated that the cost in loss of earnings alone due to preventable, so unnecessary, sickness and death in the South amounts to over $300,000,000 annually. Whatever may be true of the individual employer of labor, the society cannot afford to scrap workers.

But to take a narrow economic attitude toward Negro health is to remain blind to things of more importance. The human powers and energies of persons composing the population are the most important part of the nation's resources. Disease and unnecessary deaths are an economic and social loss but the human costs of bearing and rearing children and the human waste of disease and premature death are matters of greater concern. If human life is a value in and of itself, man is not to be regarded as a means for the production of wealth but as an end for which wealth is produced.

From any point of view the condition of physical welfare of the Negro people is a matter of grave concern. It is fundamental to the well being of the group itself; it is probably the most outstanding problem that confronts the Negro people today. It is a determining factor in the general health standards of the South. It is important from the point of view of economic and industrial efficiency; it bears upon the problem of education; it is a controlling factor in poverty and dependence; it is a significant factor in vice and delinquency. The health and vitality of the Negro people, as of any other class in the population, is of concern not alone to the group itself but to the community as a whole. Negro health is a national as well as a racial problem.

VITAL STATISTICS OF THE NEGRO PEOPLE

Until recent decades little may be known concerning the health of the Negro people. In Africa, as the result of climatic conditions and the backward state of culture, the death rate was high and the life span short. But prior to the entrance of the white man in numbers, they appear to have been free from a number of diseases to which they are particularly susceptible in America. On the other hand they are relatively free in America from the effects of various diseases from which they suffered in Africa. In the case of still other diseases, they appear to suffer excessively in either environment. According to Ripley, Negroes even in the Tropics are especially subject to affections of the lungs.

In the American slave régime, the economic advantage of the master, as well as considerations of human kindness, led to measures for the preservation of the health of the slaves. They were largely rural and led an active outdoor life. There was an enforced regularity of habits. The diet was simple but generally wholesome. On the large plantations as well as in the better city environments, the sanitary condition of the slave quarters was assured by more or less regular and systematic inspection. As a result of the vigorous and orderly life imposed upon the slaves, the mortality and morbidity rates were probably low. In Mobile, Alabama, for example, in the period 1843-1846 the Negro death rate was reported as only one-half that of the white: 23.1 per 1,000 for the Negro and 45.8 per 1,000 for the white. In the period 1822-1830 the annual average Negro death rate in Charleston, South Carolina, was reported as 28.2 as compared with 32.7 per 1,000 for the whites. Other similar reports are frequently quoted to show that the present condition of Negro health is the result of environmental conditions. While these early reports are probably without value—

the remarkable showing of the Negroes being due to incomplete reporting of Negro deaths—it is probably true that at the time of their emancipation the Negroes enjoyed the best health in the history of their race up to that time.

The first definite figures bearing upon the question date from 1850. At that time the Census Bureau undertook to secure certain information in regard to each person who had died within one year preceding the date of enumeration and similar data have been secured at each subsequent enumeration. That the mortality data secured in this way are incomplete and highly inaccurate is generally obvious on the face of the returns, and the fact has been pointed out in the various reports. According to the returns of 1850, the mortality rate appeared to be 16.4 per 1,000 for the slave population and 13.5 per 1,000 for the free population. That is, the returns indicated a mortality rate lower than had anywhere been reached up to that time. Obviously there were wholesale omissions; probably over one-third of the deaths for the year were not reported. In recent decades the mortality statistics of the registration areas furnish a partial check upon the degree of inaccuracy of the enumeration figures. In 1900, for example, the number of deaths in the death registration areas was 30.2 per 1,000 of the Negro population and 17.3 per 1,000 of the white population. But according to the enumeration returns the rate was 13.7 for the Negro population and 10.6 for the white population. Since there is little reason to believe that the death rate was higher within than without the registration areas, the difference between the two sets of figures may be taken as representing with some approximation to accuracy the omissions made by the enumerators. These enumeration data are not without value for other purposes but they furnish no satisfactory basis for determining rates of mortality.

The only index of mortality that comprehends the entire Negro population is that derived from the age classifications of the several census enumerations. The Negro population is almost exclusively native: it is very little disturbed by immigration or emigration. This being true, it is possible to assume that those enumerated in 1920, for example, as from 10 to 19 years of age include all the survivors of the Negro population returned at the previous census as being under 10 years of age. Since the net immigration is negligible, whatever decrease appears is presumably due to mortality.

As just indicated, the United States has no national system of registration of vital statistics. But certain states and cities have provided by state laws or municipal ordinances for the registration of such data. In 1880, Congress authorized the compilation and publication of birth and death statistics by the census bureau, the information to be gotten from the states and municipalities providing the machinery for its collection. The first census report on mortality, issued for the year 1900, gave statistics for ten states and the District of Columbia, which comprised approximately forty per cent of the American population. Since that beginning, the area has gradually expanded until in 1921, the date of the latest report, 82.2 per cent of the population was included within the death registration area.

But these registration areas are nearly all outside of the territory where the bulk of the Negroes reside. The extension of the area has for the most part been confined to the Northern sections of the country; only a limited number of the more important cities of the South are included; the large rural population of the South is almost wholly excluded. Since the Negroes are largely a Southern and a rural population, the mortality statistics for this racial element are particularly incomplete. It should also be borne in mind that the reporting of deaths

is probably less complete and less accurate for the Negro than for the white.

THE NEGRO DEATH RATE IN THE UNITED STATES

Approximately sixty per cent of the Negro people now live within the registration areas and it is therefore possible to state certain health facts and tendencies with some accuracy. The Negro general death rate is excessively high. This is true of both sexes and of all age groups in both the rural and urban population and in all sections of the country. In 1921 the segment of the race living within the death registration states showed a mortality rate of 15.8 per 1,000 population. There is no reason to assume that the rate was markedly lower in the territory lying outside the registration areas.

In general the rate of Negro mortality is higher in the Northern and Western than in the Southern sections of the country. In 1921 the rate per 1,000 Negro population was reported for Mississippi as 13.5 and for Louisiana as 13.9. In the other Southern states the rate reported was below that for the registration area as a whole. In New Jersey the rate was 19.5, in Illinois 18.1, in New York 17.9, and elsewhere in the North the rate was comparatively high. In some of the border states the rate was higher than in the states of the North: Maryland reported a rate of 19.6, Missouri 18.7 and the District of Columbia 18.9. These figures, however, may not be accepted without interpretation. Some part of the regional variation is the result of differences in the degree of accuracy in registration procedure.

The variation from state to state is probably more a matter of rural and urban residence than of geographic location. In the North and West the Negroes are in major part a city population while in the South they are more largely rural. The Negroes have fared poorly

when settled in cities. Taking the figures of 1910 as illustrative, the general death rate among the Negroes was 27.1 while that of the whites was 15.6, a difference of 11.7 points. In the part of the population living in rural and semi-rural conditions—the open country and villages and towns of less than 10,000 population—the general rate for the Negroes was 19.5 and that of the whites was 13.3, a difference of 6.2 points. The urban rate exceeded the rural rate in both cases; by 2.3 points for the white and 7.6 points for the Negro population; and the Negro mortality thus exceeded the white by 6.2 points in the rural and by 11.5 points in the urban population. In the South the general death rate of the Negro population was 29.3 while in the rural population, so far as included in the registration area, the rate was 18.3, less than two-thirds the urban rate. In the cities of the North and West the Negro mortality rate was less than in the cities of the South though the rate in the rural population was higher than in the rural population of the South. Urbanization affected both races adversely but the Negro more markedly than the white.

The Negro death rate is higher than that of any other group in the population. Industrial insurance statistics covering about one-sixth of the Negro people show the death rate to be about sixty per cent in excess of the white rate. In 1910 the general death rate in the registration areas was 15.0 per 1,000 of the population. The corresponding rate for the Negroes was 25.7, that for the white was 14.6, the death rate of the foreign born element of the population, which was higher than that of any other group except of the Negro, was 17.2. In 1921 the general death rate was 11.6 per 1,000 estimated population of the registration area. The corresponding rate for the white population was 11.2, that for the colored population, chiefly Negro, was 16.0. This relatively higher rate of Negro mortality is not a peculiarity

or a single region or of a single or few groups in the population; it appears to prevail in all sections of the country and in about the same degree in each sex. All through the age scale, with the exception of the high age groups, the proportion of deaths is greater for the Negro than for the white population.

The excessive rate of mortality of the Negroes also appears when it is compared with the rates of different European countries. It is not only higher than that of the general population of the United States but also higher than that of most European countries. In the accompanying tabulation comparative figures are given for 1910 and 1920.

DEATH RATES OF SELECTED COUNTRIES: 1910 AND 1920

Country	*1910*	*1920*
New Zealand	9.7	10.2
Australia	10.4	10.5
Netherlands	13.6	12.0
Denmark	12.9	12.2
England and Wales	13.5	12.4
United States, Reg. Area, White Population	14.6	12.6
United States, Reg. Area	15.0	13.1
Sweden	14.0	13.3
Belgium	15.2	13.5
Scotland	15.3	14.0
Switzerland	15.1	14.4
Ireland	17.1	14.8
Germany	16.2	15.1
Finland	16.5	15.9
Norway	13.5	17.1 (1919)
France	17.8	17.7
United States, Reg. Area, Negro Population	25.5	17.7
Italy	19.9	19.0 (1919)
Austria	21.3	20.3 (1919)
Japan	20.9	22.8 (1919)
Spain	23.3	23.2
Ceylon	27.3	29.6
Chili	31.1	30.8

In spite of the high death rates, the present state of Negro health shows marked improvement from earlier

decades and the present rate compares more favorably than at any previous time with that of other populations. The mortality rates of both races are decreasing; in recent years the downward trend of the Negro rate has been abrupt. From 1910 to 1920 the decline in the registration area was 22.7 per cent for the white and 33.8 per cent for the Negroes. From 1911 to 1922 the death rate of the Negro policy holders of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company, approximately one-sixth of the Negro people, declined 22 per cent.

In 1900 the general death rate of the Negro population of the registration areas was 29.4 per 1,000 population. In 1910 this had dropped to 25.5, a decrease of 3.9 per 1,000 population in the ten year period. These figures may not be taken as an accurate index of health improvement since the registration areas of the two periods are not identical, the figures for 1910 representing a larger proportion of the Negro population. The improvement during the decade may have been greater or less than the improvement indicated by the decline for the registration areas. Also, the rate each year represents a population that was largely urban so probably exceeds the true rate for the Negro population as a whole. The trend during the past decade is shown in comparison with that of the white and of the general population in the table on page 173.

The present death rate of the Negro people appears to be about that of the whites a generation or less ago. In 1900 the white death rate was 17.1; in 1921 the Negro rate was 16.0. In 1910 the Negro rate, 24.2, compared favorably with Austria, 21.3; Spain, 23.3; Hungary, 23.6; and Rumania, 24.8. It was below the rate characteristic of the Netherlands until about 1870; the rate of France and Germany was as high or higher than the 1910 Negro rate until the eighties of the last century; the rate of Italy and Austria did not fall below the 25

DEATH RATE FROM ALL CAUSES PER 1,000 ESTIMATED POPULATION OF THE REGISTRATION AREA

Year	*Total*	*White*	*Colored*
1910	15.0	14.6	24.1
1911	14.2	13.8	23.4
1912	13.9	13.5	22.6
1913	14.1	13.7	21.7
1914	13.6	13.2	21.7
1915	13.6	13.1	22.0
1916	14.0	13.6	19.8
1917	14.3	13.7	21.4
1918	18.1	17.4	26.0
1919	12.9	12.4	18.0
1920	13.1	12.6	18.0

mark until about the beginning of the present century. In a number of countries of European civilization the death rate in 1910 was above the Negro rate in 1920.

In many cities of the United States maintaining efficient health departments the Negro death rate is lower than that of the white population a quarter of a century ago. In 1890 the white death rate of Philadelphia was 22.3, that of Boston was 24.6, that of Brooklyn was 25.4, and that of New York was 28.5. In 1890 the Negro death rate of New York City was 35.5. Twenty years later the Negro rate had fallen to 25.0 per 1,000, and to 17.9 in 1921. In Mobile, Alabama, the Negro death rate declined from 31.1 per 1,000 in 1911 to 20.2 per 1,000 in 1920. The present rate is thus close to the white rate a decade earlier: the white rate was 24 per 1,000 in 1908 and 18.3 per 1,000 in 1911.

The changing rate of Negro mortality appears in the increasing life span of the group. The figures of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company, in some ways the best index of Negro health conditions, show the life expectancy of the male Negro in 1911-1912 to have been 41.32 years; in 1922-1923 the life expectancy had increased to 46.74 years, a change during the period of five and one-half years or 13.1 per cent. In the same period

of years the life expectancy of the Negro women increased from 41.30 to 46.07 years, an increase of over four and one-half years.

The very material reduction in the death rate in various countries in recent decades from an annual average which far exceeded the present Negro rate justifies the belief that the Negro rate may be similarly reduced. The recent behavior of the Negro rate also gives reason to anticipate farther decline. A number of factors are operating favorably on the life and health conditions of the race. There has been a considerable development of public health activities in Southern sections of the country and in this development the Negroes have shared both directly and indirectly. The economic status of many Negro groups has improved with a consequent improvement in living conditions. Migration has operated to the same end, directly by giving large numbers advantage of the higher wages and the more advanced social, health, educational conditions in the North and indirectly by its temporary effect on the wage and labor conditions in the South and in stimulating efforts to improve the educational, sanitary, and general living conditions of the Negroes.

It is, however, easy to over-emphasize the significance of certain figures. The very rapid decline in the Negro death rate in Chicago, Philadelphia, New York City, and other Northern cities in the registration area has frequently been cited as disproving the general idea that the Negro people cannot survive in industrial competition in the colder regions. The decline is no doubt due in some part, perhaps in major part, to improvement in the economic status of the Negroes and to intensive health activities. But it is also well to remember that the very remarkable migration of Negroes in the past decade brought into these Northern cities a large number of young, active, and relatively healthy Negroes and that the effort of this selective migration is reflected in the down-

ward trend of the Negro death rate in these cities. The gains in health, while they have been marked and important, have probably been less spectacular than the non-critical reading of the figures has led many persons to believe.

THE INFANT MORTALITY RATE AMONG AMERICAN NEGROES

The death rate of infants and young children is a very large item in explanation of the excessive Negro death rate. Whether measured by absolute or relative standards the rate is high. In 1910 the number of deaths of male Negro children under one year of age for each 1,000 male Negro infants in the population was 280.3; the corresponding figures for the female infants was 243.2. At the present time infant mortality accounts for from ten to fifteen per cent of all Negro babies before the close of the first year of life.

The rate varies somewhat with different sections of the country being in general higher in the South than in the North. The rate also appears to be lower for the urban than for the rural parts of the population though very little dependable information is available for most of the rural Negro population. Infant mortality seems to improve as the Negroes migrate to cities of the North and West where prenatal and obstetrical work is better organized and open to Negroes. Everywhere the Negroes suffer excessively as compared with the whites. In 1910 the rate for the registration area was over twice that of the white —261.9 to 129.7.

In spite of the very high rate prevailing in most places at the present time, it is a marked improvement over that of earlier years. In 1900 the infant Negro death rate was reported as 344.5 for each 1,000 of the Negro population under one year of age; the rate for male infants

being 380, that for female infants 309.7. During the following decade there was remarkable improvement. The decline was greater for the Negro than for the white infants though at the end of the decade it was still greatly in excess of the white rate. In 1910 the deaths per 1,000 population under one year of age were 129.7 for the whites and 261.9 for the Negroes. In the earlier decades the rates were even higher. In 1890 the figures show an infant mortality of 430.2 for New Orleans, 461.7 for Charleston, and 529.8 for Richmond. The corresponding rates for the white babies were 269.4 for New Orleans, 200.4 for Charleston, and 186.9 for Richmond. The white infant mortality in 1890 was thus far above the present Negro rate in many places.

The causes of the high infant rate for Negroes are in general the same as those which account for a high infant rate in all groups. The respiratory diseases as pulmonary tuberculosis and pneumonia play a large rôle and whooping cough appears to be particularly dangerous to Negro infants. But the infant mortality is high in every group that lives under social and economic conditions similar to those of the Negro population. Poverty is the greatest enemy of babies: most infant deaths occur in families where the father's wage is low, where the mother goes out to work, where poverty compels the group to live in alley houses or rear tenements. The cause is, of course, the ignorance of child care which goes with poverty rather than the poverty itself; mortality and morbidity rates may be greatly reduced without great change in wages or housing conditions.

Rickets, which is so nearly universal among Negro infants, illustrates how poverty combined with ignorance affects the health conditions. It is generally estimated that 75 per cent of all children suffer from this disease during the first two years of life. The Negro rate is higher than the white; it is estimated that fully 90 per

cent of Negro children in New York City suffer from the disease in infancy. It is probable that the Negro child in the Northern cities is peculiarly susceptible to rickets. But the chief cause lies in the poor environment of the child—the improper diet and the absence of sunlight. Rickets, even when not extreme, permanently affects the bone structure causing flat foot, chest deformities, and other defects. As a result the person goes through life less able to resist disease and particularly prone to such respiratory troubles as pneumonia and pulmonary tuberculosis. It is possible that there is some direct causal relation between this childhood disease and the respiratory diseases from which the young Negroes suffer so excessively. The marked decline in recent decades of the Negro general death rate discussed above has been due in large part to the wider economic opportunities of the Negro with a consequent improvement in housing and living conditions, and to more drastic public health measures bringing tuberculosis and other diseases somewhat under control. The decline has been due chiefly to the reduction in the mortality of children under fifteen years, the period at which the proportion of Negro deaths is highest in comparison with the white.

The experience of New York City indicates what may be done by community effort to lessen the destruction of Negro child life. In 1915 an investigation was made of Negro infant mortality in New York City. In one section of the city where incomes were smallest and where the percentage of lodgers was largest and over-crowding, in consequence greatest, and where the largest percentage of mothers was employed, the infant mortality was 314 per 1,000. The Negro rate for the entire city was 202 per 1,000 and that for the whites was 96 per 1,000. As a result of the investigation a health improvement campaign was organized and participated in by the Health Department, the schools, and various social welfare and

DEATHS FROM SPECIFIED CAUSES: 1910

Causes of Death	*Per 1,000 Deaths from All Causes*		*Per 100,000 Population from Specified Causes*	
	Negro	*White*	*Negro*	*White*
All causes	1,000	1,000	2,546	1,457
Tuberculosis	182	102	463	148
Pneumonia	117	98	298	142
Organic diseases of the heart	83	95	212	139
Nephritis, Bright's disease	71	66	182	96
Violent deaths, except suicide	53	61	132	88
Congenital debility and malformations	43	51	110	74
Diarrhea and enteritis (under 2 years)	56	68	144	99
Cerebral hemorrhage and softening	34	52	88	76
Cancer	22	53	57	77
Typhoid	16	16	41	23
Bronchitis	16	16	41	23
Puerperal fever and affections	11	10	27	15
Whooping cough	12	7	30	11
Influenza	10	10	26	14
Meningitis	7	10	19	14
Malaria	8	1	21	1
Hernia, intestinal obstruction	6	8	16	12
Cirrhosis of the liver	5	10	14	14
Diphtheria and croup	5	15	12	22
Measles	4	8	9	12
Appendicitis	5	8	12	11
Rheumatism	4	5	11	7
Diabetes	3	10	7	15
Suicide	3	11	8	16
Erysipelas	2	3	4	5
Scarlet fever	1	8	4	12
All other and unknown causes	218	198	556	289

other agencies. In two years the Negro infant mortality of the city fell from 202 per 1,000 to 173 per 1,000, a decline of 29 points. By 1919 the rate had fallen to 151 per 1,000. In the following year the Negro infant mortal-

ity in the district which in 1915 had a rate of 314 per 1,000 was lower than the white rate in the same district.

NEGRO MORTALITY BY THE CAUSE OF DEATH

The death rate of the Negro people when examined from the viewpoint of the cause of death seems to show some peculiar health problems. Some diseases appear to be common to both racial elements in about the same degree. In the case of typhoid fever and malaria the Negroes appear to be less susceptible than the whites and the similar thing is true in regard to measles, smallpox, and certain other diseases. The cancer rate relatively is very low. They show fewer cases of psychopathic states than are found among the whites. But in the case of other diseases they have a decidedly higher mortality rate. They suffer excessively from diseases of the lungs, and pleura and of the digestive tract. Heart disease, Bright's disease, and other chronic diseases cause relatively many more deaths among colored than among white persons of the same economic classes. The table on page 178 shows the number of deaths in each 1,000 due to specific diseases for the two racial classes and the deaths from each disease per one hundred thousand population.

The death rate by classes of diseases in 1921 shows characteristic differences between the racial groups. The figures for the more important classes appear in the tabulation on page 180.

It is evident from these data that tuberculosis is a chief cause of death in the Negro population. In 1910 one-fifth of the Negro deaths were from this cause. The rate has since fallen but it is still a scourge especially among young Negroes. The rate varies a good deal in different sections of the country. In 1921 the rate in Pennsylvania was 83.3 for the white and 333.0 for the

DEATH RATE PER 100,000 POPULATION IN THE REGISTRATION AREA: 1921

Cause of Death	*White*	*Negro*
Epidemic, endemic and infectious diseases	163.7	398.0
Tuberculosis	85.3	239.0
General diseases not included above	131.0	96.3
Cancer and other malignant tumors	89.4	49.7
Diseases of the nervous system and of the organs of special sense	122.3	126.0
Diseases of the circulatory system	182.0	181.6
Diseases of the respiratory system	102.8	150.3
Diseases of the digestive system	110.4	140.2
Nonvenereal diseases of the genito-urinary system and annexa	96.4	136.8
The puerperal state	15.5	30.3
Malformations	16.1	9.2
Early infancy	66.7	85.9
Old age	11.1	25.9
External causes (suicide, homicide, accidental or undefined)	87.2	105.5
Ill-defined diseases	9.5	86.9

colored population; in New York it was 97.7 for the white and 321.7 for the colored; in Virginia the rate was 86.1 for the white and 246.0 for the colored; in North Carolina it was 69.3 for the white and 187.4 for the colored, and in Florida the rate for the white 62.4 and for the colored 162.5. The rate also varies from urban to rural environment and type of life. The following figures indicate that it is preëminently an urban and a Negro disease.

DEATH RATE PER 100,000 POPULATION IN UNITED STATES: 1917

State	*Urban*		*Rural*	
	White	*Negro*	*White*	*Negro*
Kentucky	168.9	526.5	164.7	462.4
Maryland	225.5	596.2	178.4	322.9
North Carolina	271.2	402.1	128.1	218.0
South Carolina	139.2	384.7	63.3	195.3
Tennessee	148.6	413.5	157.1	374.2
Virginia	128.4	328.3	106.3	302.3

In New York City the tubercular death rate is approximately three times that for the whites.

COMPARATIVE NEGRO AND WHITE MORTALITY FROM TUBERCULOSIS IN NEW YORK: 1910-1921

Year	*Death Rate*	
	Negro	*White*
1910	617	202
1911	638	201
1912	609	192
1913	542	191
1914	546	192
1915	486	189
1916	440	175
1917	424	182
1918	449	177
1919	471	144
1920	384	119
1921	299	97

The venereal diseases are very widespread in the race and are an important factor in the sickness and death rate. Until recently the race has been relatively free from syphilis and the disease is in consequence very severe. It appears to be spreading very rapidly, the death rate among Negroes from diseases of syphilitic origin being approximately double the rate ten years ago. The present rate is apparently over five times that of the whites.

Maternal mortality is very high particularly among young Negro mothers, the rate being double that among the white.

Cancer appears to be only about one-half as frequent among the Negroes, but has recently shown a decided increase.

THE IMMUNITY AND SUSCEPTIBILITY OF THE NEGROES TO DISEASES

When attention is turned from the fact of a high Negro mortality to the cause of the prevailing condition the

question at once arises as to the extent to which the observed conditions are explainable in racial and to what extent in environmental terms. Is the high death rate indicative of a lesser degree of vitality and disease resistance in this element of the population or is it simply an expression of the lower economic status and the poorer living conditions?

General opinion is doubtless to the effect that the Negro people are constitutionally weak and that the race is peculiarly prone to disease. This being the case the high death rate cannot be brought under complete control and probably cannot be materially reduced, the weakness bearing no essential relation to the environment over which human agencies can exercise control. This position appears to be, for the most part a naïve inference drawn directly from the fact of the high death rate itself. Even when more labored it is perhaps not more valuable; the nature of the data upon which any statistical argument in the last analysis rests has been indicated. Many other persons of opposite opinion assert or assume that racial differences are negligible and that the difference in mortality rates is virtually a measure of environmental difference.

There is even evidence for the position that the Negroes under equally favorable environmental conditions would show a lower rate of mortality than the whites.

The physical examination of the Negro and white recruits incident to the army draft seemed to show the Negro to be constitutionally the better physiological machine. A larger percentage of Negro than of white men drafted were accepted for service and, after registration there was a larger percentage of Negroes than of the whites admitted to full military duty. It is possible, indeed probable, that there was some injustice in the draft boards: Negroes were accepted on less careful examination than was given the whites. But the fact

that a smaller percentage was rejected after induction indicates that the amount of injustice was probably not great. The army experience also seemed to show that the Negroes had a somewhat more stable nervous system than the white men. They showed fewer cases of psychopathic states and those found appeared in most cases to be the result of venereal disease infection.

A dogmatic position is scarcely justified in the present state of knowledge on the subject. The biological and environmental factors do not operate separately and may not be segregated by statistical methods. The problem has not been at all adequately approached on the qualitative side.

THE BIOLOGICAL AND ENVIRONMENTAL FACTORS INVOLVED IN EXPLANATION OF THE NEGRO MORTALITY RATE

The Negro people are marked by a high resistance to particular local diseases and by a high susceptibility to others. The relatively great differences in mortality that have prevailed between the races in the American environment have in general been the result of particular diseases. This difference is to be expected.

The American Negroes are the descendants of a tropical race and it is not to be expected that they would be so constituted as to withstand the attack of diseases peculiar to a temperate climate. A high immunity to a certain disease is the result of racial experience, natural forces having operated through a selective mortality to eliminate the susceptible. In the case of certain diseases the Negroes have been free for generations or even for their entire racial history, and, as a consequence, have never acquired or have not maintained an immunity. A similar statement would hold for any racial group. All peoples appear to experience difficulty in becoming acclimated to environ-

ments radically different from those to which their race is adjusted. The white race appears not to have learned to live in the tropics. It is to be expected that the Negro would have some difficulty in meeting the health requirements of a temperate zone.

The high resistance that the Negroes show to certain other diseases is subject to a similar explanation. As a result of a biological adaption to a peculiar environment they have, like other biologically acclimated races, developed an innate character fitting them to cope with the rigors of that environment. The high resistance to certain diseases may very well be the selective result of an age-long struggle with the micro-organisms of the tropics, just as the skin color may be an environmental adaptation, a racial uniform, protecting the organism against the injurious actinic rays of the tropic sun, and as the high degree of fertility which seems to characterize the race may represent a character acquired by selection operating in the interest of racial survival in a difficult environmental situation.

But the fact of a difference between races in the degree of immunity to specific diseases may be the present expression of unlike historic experience and racial in the popular sense only. It need not be an expression of a peculiar germinal constitution due to mutational change; it may be merely a difference in the percentages of individuals in the two groups that enjoy an immunity. A high death rate of the North Europeans in the tropics is not, of itself, proof of the biological weakness of the white race. The susceptibility to tropical diseases may be due to the historic fact that the white groups have had little racial experience with the racial diseases peculiar to these regions and have not acquired an immunity to them. This lack of experience is an historical and not a racial or biological fact. As a result of it their death rate in the tropics may be far in excess of that of

the native peoples. But there is apparently no reason to believe that it would be impossible for them ever to become acclimated to a tropical environment and develop an immunity to tropical diseases. Acclimatization through historic experience does not mean that hereditary traits are modified; it means that the percentage of individuals having certain traits is increased. The same type of statement holds true for the Negroes in a temperate climate and exposed to diseases foreign to their racial experience. In either case, if the race be given a little time, a few generations, an immunity will be established, or reëstablished, and susceptibility to attacks of the disease will fall to the level characteristic of acclimated groups.

To make a case for the position that different degrees of immunity or susceptibility to disease are racial, that is, biological, it would be necessary to show, not only that under equally favorable external conditions the individuals of one race contract the disease more readily or suffer more severely from the effects of infection than do individuals of another, or die in a larger percentage of cases from its attack, but also that the members of the group always contract the disease on exposure, or always suffer excessively from its attacks, or always succumb from the effects of its attacks, and that the germinal constitution of the race is such that it lacks the capacity to build up an immunity through the selective effects of long exposure to the disease. If there were no possibility of the race acquiring an immunity through the selective effects of long exposure, because of racially peculiar innate characteristics, the fact would be properly racial and the only hope for the race would lie in its complete and permanent isolation from infection or in the disappearance of the disease through evolutionary changes in the infecting micro-organism which would destroy or materially modify the virulence of the disease. But if there are individual differences in the susceptibility to infection or in the seri-

ousness of the attacks, or in the liability to death from its attacks, there exists in the racial constitution the power to acquire a more and more complete immunity through a more extended process of selection, and the difference between this group and groups that have acquired relative immunity is that the one group has already passed through a selective process that the other is now undergoing. The difference is thus not one of unalterable racial nature; it is a statistical difference due to historic experience. One group has had more experience with the disease than has the other and consequently, at the present racial moment, there is less destruction in the one group than there is in the other. It is thus clear that race as such has nothing to do with the theoretical situation. Any two groups of exactly the same biological characteristics and racial ancestry would show similar relative differences in immunity to specific diseases if one had through a series of generations been exposed to its selective effects and the other isolated from the ravages of its attacks.

This, of course, is not to deny that there may be differences in disease susceptibility or immunity that are more accurately designated as racial. The Negroes may lack as a mark of their racial separateness, characteristics that other racial stocks possess and may not be able to acquire them by similar racial experience but may acquire them only through the biological process of racial fusion. The Negro is possessed of a thick, tough, active, and highly pigmented skin. This valuable body covering seems to account for his relative immunity to certain diseases communicated through the bites or stings of insects, either because of the mechanical protection it affords or because of the chemical effects of its profuse secretions on the micro-organisms responsible for the diseases. If this racial uniform is the result of biological mutation, not the product of environmental adaptation, and hence not to be acquired by other racial groups except through the

biological process of racial fusion, the disease immunity consequent upon its possession is truly racial. But if the same covering may be acquired by any racial stock exposed to the selective effects of a tropical habitat, the immunity it gives must be classed as an environmental adaptation rather than as a mutation. The bodily framework of the Negroes is characterized by a peculiarly narrow chest which may or may not account in part or in whole for their high tubercular mortality rate. If this or other character peculiar to the Negroes is the explanation of the high mortality resulting from tubercular infection, and if this lung capacity may be increased only by the Negroes ceasing to be Negroes through biological mutation or fusion with other racial types and selective processes operating to the establishment of a new type not characterized by the bodily structure in question, the susceptibility to diseases of the lungs and pleura may be rightly classified as racial. But if this or other peculiarity is the result of previous conditions of racial life and may undergo change in a changed environment, or if the Negroes may develop, through a period of exposure to the disease, an immunity to infection as other races appear to have done, their present high mortality rate from this cause is an accident of their historic experience, so far as it is not the expression of the immediate sanitary and nutritional situation.

The various factors involved in the question of relative racial health appear most clearly perhaps in the case of cancer. This disease appears not to be contagious so the question of an acquired immunity does not arise. The disease is not curable so a differential treatment is not an item of importance in the death rate. So any racial differences should appear with clearness and certainty. It is frequently alleged that the white race is peculiarly prone to the disease. In the United States the death rate for the whites is 77 per hundred thousand, that for the

Negroes is 56. It would thus appear that the white race is more susceptible than the Negro race. But when the cancer rate is studied from the point of view of the distribution of the disease it is found to fall rapidly from the North to the South. This would indicate that there is a relation between the disease and latitude. If a comparison be made by occupations it is found that cancer is of greater relative frequency in some than in others. Poverty is another factor of very great importance as may be illustrated by the comparative rates of Austria and Hungary. There is no difference in race and no essential difference in climatic conditions, yet the Austrian rate is approximately twice the rate for Hungary. But there is a great difference in cultural development: Austria is superior to Hungary in wealth, education, and the degree of medical development. This has a two-fold effect on the cancer death rate. In the more backward country a larger percentage of persons die without adequate medical attention and without having the cause of their death properly diagnosed. Also, the poorer country has a higher general death rate and a higher rate of infant mortality and consequently there are fewer persons to die of cancer and other diseases of old age. It would appear then that the higher cancer death rate of Austria is a function of the older population; civilization tends to raise the cancer rate by increasing the age of the population. A similar thing appears in the case of the Negroes: the rate in South Africa is given as 14, that for the Negroes in the United States as 56. In the United States the rate increases for Negroes and the whites remain parallel, each rising as we go from the South toward the North. The Negro rate remains lower in all cases. The explanation appears to be not that he is immune to the disease in any greater degree than the white man, but that he is poorer and so has poorer health, less medical care, inferior diagnosis, lives in lower latitudes, and in rural regions.

It is such facts as these that appear to account for the racial differences in the cancer mortality rates. If they do not account for it in its entirety, they do show that the cause is overwhelmingly environmental. It appears to be highly doubtful if the racial heredity enters at all as a causal factor.

In the case of other diseases which are more directly and obviously influenced by environmental conditions it is still more hazardous to assert that racial heredity plays any considerable part in the comparative death rates.

THE IMPROVEMENT OF NEGRO HEALTH CONDITIONS

While some part of the excessive mortality among the Negro population may be the result of inherent constitutional weakness of the race and so not subject to control, this does not provide a complete and adequate explanation of the health situation. Nor does the recognition of certain constitutional weaknesses of the Negro people give reason for assuming that the differences in the mortality rates are natural differences in the sense that they would persist should the social and economic conditions of the racial group improve. The probability is always that any differential mortality is explainable in environmental terms unless the determining influence of the natural and racial factor is demonstrated. In the present case the only reasonable and practical point of view is that the environment is the dominating factor and in the absence of proof to the contrary it is necessary to assume that the racial differences in mortality would largely disappear with improvement in social, economic, and hygienic conditions.

The poverty of the Negroes with all of its attendant circumstances appears to be the major factor in the health situation. The Negroes are typically unskilled laborers. This type of work frequently involves exposure and overexertion which increases the sickness, disability and death

rates. Poverty makes it very generally necessary that the mothers work away from home with results disastrous to the proper care and feeding of children. In sickness, medical attention is the exception rather than the rule. Hospitals are few, over-crowded, and beyond the financial means of any save the exceptional family.

The Negroes normally live under the most miserable health conditions that the community tolerates. In nearly every case the Negro sections are the meaner and less desirable parts of the city. In part they are driven to these sections by restrictions upon their place of residence, and in part they are attracted to them by the relative cheapness of rent and real estate. But whether the cause be poverty or prejudice, the neighborhoods in which they chiefly live are the least sanitary which the cities afford. In the rural regions the conditions are often not superior to those of the towns. The Negroes are ignorant and careless so there is an improper disposal of waste material and the soil and water supply are frequently polluted.

Some part of the high death rate must certainly be laid to the general ignorance of the Negroes. They are commonly uninformed concerning even the simplest rules of health, and heedless of sanitation and personal hygiene. In the rural regions there is no school inspection and epidemic and contagious diseases spread, and the spread is facilitated by the highly social disposition of the Negroes. There is little knowledge of child care and children perhaps generally receive improperly prepared and unwholesome food. The general absence of well-cooked food throughout the South is particularly true of the Negroes: they live in innumerable cases on scraps.

The social and sanitary conditions resulting from the poverty and ignorance of the mass of the Negro people is an element in explanation of the high death rate. The unvarying relation which obtains between the diseases that kill the most Negroes and the conditions under which

they must live has led many students of Negro health to the conclusion that the social and environmental conditions are chiefly responsible for their bad health record.

Organized efforts to improve the living conditions, and so the health standard of the population, have been slow to reach the mass of Negroes. As in most other things, they have been among the last groups to receive the benefits of the public health movement. Until recently few organizations have been interested in the health of the race: the first conscious definite efforts extend back little more than a decade. But the success that has attended these initial efforts has been most encouraging and enough has been accomplished to justify the conviction of workers that farther improvement is possible.

In 1914, Booker T. Washington initiated a health education movement through the Negro Business League. In this movement the National Urban League presently joined and in later years various other health and social organizations have coöperated. At present a very large number of organizations are carrying on an active health propaganda among the Negroes in the effort to spread elementary information in regard to personal cleanliness and sanitary surroundings in their relation to the control of disease. There is also an increasing amount of medical and sanitary work being done and this operates directly to health improvement.

The recent migratory movement of the Negroes has reacted and will perhaps continue to react favorably on the health conditions. The higher wage and the better opportunity to advance has been reflected in a lower infant and general mortality rate. It has also brought many individuals and families into a more sanitary environment and within the reach of medical and hospital care. The movement also promises to improve the wage scale as well as the living conditions and educational facilities of the South and so to lower the sickness and death rates.

There is a rather rapid extension of general education throughout the Southern sections of the country. Poor community health is in large part the direct result of community ignorance. As education spreads there is a growing recognition on the part of both races of the value of public health. The Negroes are coming to realize the need and are making efforts to increase their health standards. And the white leaders are realizing the interdependence of the races, that there is no way to protect the educated and the white and at the same time to neglect the ignorant and the black. The health question is national, not racial. Any effort to divide the problem and make Negro health a separate issue is more and more recognized as an unworkable program. Good community health is purchasable but the daily touch of the races is such that any effective white program cannot ignore the Negro.

There are, however, certain obstacles to be overcome before health conditions can greatly improve. The masses of the Negroes, particularly the rural Negroes, are densely ignorant and with ignorance go various superstitions. The poverty of the group stands in the way of health; unable to afford medical and hospital service, they depend upon druggists and patent medicines. It is reported that four out of each five Negro deaths in Savannah, Georgia in 1908 were not attended by a physician. The health facilities are wholly inadequate. At present there is one Negro physician for each 1,700 of the Negro population and about one-half that number of trained nurses. Of the 119 hospitals and sanitariums for Negroes in 1920 perhaps half a dozen were adequately manned and equipped. The poverty-stricken nature of community life in the South makes the spread of health information difficult. Tenant houses are widely scattered, villages are few, communication is poor, the population shifting, and the scattered and poorly equipped schools and churches

are the only rural institutions. There is a lack of organization for spreading health information. The churches and schools are the only starting points. But the preachers are typically ignorant and generally indifferent except to the extent that coöperation brings personal glory, and the teachers are generally untrained.

There is a very general indifference to Negro health. In some part this is an outcome of the general belief that poor health of the Negro is the result of constitutional weakness of the race.

There is, however, consciously or unconsciously a sinister aspect of much of the white indifference to improving Negro health or lowering the Negro death rate. The fecundity of the Negro people is very great. In spite of the high death rate their increase has been approximately as rapid as the natural increase of the whites. There is a possibility that the natural increase of the race would very greatly exceed that of the whites should the forces that have operated to retard it be brought under control. An effective health program that would jeopardize white control of large sections of the country by allowing a disproportionate increase of the Negroes will meet indifference or opposition from many whites to the extent that its racial significance is understood. The whites will not enthusiastically nor for long support a program that will in the end mean their own elimination. Southern white support of an effective Negro health program is contingent upon assurance that Negro fecundity will also be brought under control; to expect it without such assurance is fanciful. No one thing would do more perhaps to assure active and effective support to a health program than would a drop in the Negro birth rate—through a spread of birth control information—to a point where the Southern white fear of Negro domination would be allayed.

However, there appears every reason to anticipate con-

tinued improvement in the health conditions. Their death rate has declined and their health improved in spite of the partial and inadequate community facilities. It may be farther reduced as the community desires its reduction.

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CHAPTER IX

NEGRO SEX AND FAMILY LIFE

THE FAMILY AND SEX LIFE OF THE NEGRO IN AFRICA

The African Negroes, representing as they do many separate tribal groups, have a variety of sex mores and marriage and family customs differing widely from one another. The reliable data are still fragmentary: dependence must be had in some part upon the reports of missionaries and officials and upon the impressionistic accounts of travellers. These accounts are of course prone to a considerable degree of biased error. The scientific and dependable studies are mainly local and of somewhat limited tribal application. A further difficulty to the understanding of the African origins of the American Negro family results from the fact that the present native family organization is in many cases highly disorganized through tribal intermixture and as a result of foreign contacts and missionary activities. General statements are in consequence difficult and subject to numerous individual and tribal exceptions. Nevertheless, the general features of native African family life are fairly well established and, in broad outlines, the facts may be stated with some assurance of reasonable accuracy.

Among most of the African tribes the formal rules designed to control the sex behavior of unmarried girls are rather strict and imply that considerable importance is or has been attached to the idea of female chastity. In actual practice, however, there is the greatest laxity and unmarried girls commonly bestow their favors on

whom they please. Among some tribal groups the girls of certain classes are betrothed in infancy. In such cases unchastity is in violation of the property rights that the prospective husband has in the girl and may be made the ground for a repudiation of the marriage agreement. Where the girl is not betrothed from childhood, unchastity seems not to be an offense; virginity in a bride is not a matter of importance and is not expected. The unbetrothed girls are free and are commonly highly promiscuous in their sex behavior. Virginity in a bride is a matter of importance only when a girl is betrothed from childhood and even then its absence more often results in a dowery compromise than a repudiation of the betrothal contract.

The marriage gives the husband exclusive marital rights in the woman. The formal rules against adultery are often strict: it is a ground for divorce and may be punished by death of the woman, but in practice the offending wife is more likely to be beaten and damages collected from the adulterer. Observance of the formal rules is perhaps exceptional rather than usual, but objection is made only when the relationship takes place without the husband's knowledge or consent. He may waive his exclusive marital rights in favor of another; the custom of wife lending as a sign of hospitality is widespread. Relationship is traced through the female line; the paternity of children is always a matter of doubt.

Marriage is universal among most tribes. It is chiefly a property arrangement concluded by purchase or exchange. The marriage ceremony is almost wholly secular. By it the man acquires the domestic services of a woman as well as exclusive marital rights. The age of marriage is low, generally at about eleven or twelve years or when the first signs of puberty appear. Polygamy is the rule wherever there is sufficient wealth to support it. Since wives are a matter of purchase, the number is a measure

of a man's economic wealth and general social status. The price of girls varies with the region and the state of the local market.

The bond between the man and the woman is very loose and may in general be severed at the will of the husband. The dissolution of the marriage by divorce is difficult only on the property side. When the wife is divorced for adultery the husband may claim back the purchase price. But in spite of its ease, divorce among the uncorrupted tribes is rare; among the tribes in contact with the Arabs or the Europeans it is far more usual.

Family control in general centers in the man. He exercises control over the women and junior members of the household and has power to settle disputes that may arise and to administer punishment. He is in general responsible for offenses committed by members of his household though in some cases there is a collective responsibility for injury to the person or property of others as well as a claim to share in any compensation received from others for injuries to any member of the group.

Women occupy an inferior status. They are owned by the father or husband and subject to purchase, exchange, or sale much as other property. In general they do not possess or inherit property, though among certain tribes the property of the husband and wife is kept separate and distinct, the daughters inheriting the property of the mother, and the sons inheriting that of the father. On the death of the husband the wives become the property and the wives of a brother or son. The woman may be divorced or otherwise disciplined by the husband for adultery, and for stealing, quarreling, and like offenses may be driven from the village. The inferior status of women is well seen in the fact that at death they are cast into the river or left in the forest without the formality of a burial.

In the native situation there is little or no real home

life. In general each wife has her own hut but these huts serve merely as a protection against the elements, they afford no privacy and are devoid of comfort. The furnishings are extremely crude and scanty. Paternal affection is rather highly developed among a number of tribes. The Negroes are very generally lovers of children and indulgent fathers, though they are more apt to rule by force than by love.

THE NEGRO FAMILY IN SLAVERY

The American Negro family has no unbroken social history connecting it with the family in Africa. The tribal customs and the sex and family mores of the African Negroes were thoroughly disorganized in the transfer of the captives from the tribal home. The slave trade ruthlessly destroyed the family connections and upset the balance of the sexes. Individuals of different regions, of different tribal stocks, and of different language areas were systematically intermixed in order to simplify the problem of control. This practice made impossible the perpetuation of native sex and family heritages in the new environment. In consequence of this early disorganization as well as the suppression during the slave period of any outcropping of tribal practices, it is impossible to connect in any historic sense the present condition of the Negro sex and family life with an African past. The present situation must be understood in terms of the original nature of the Negro as developed under the American historic situation.

The ruthless and complete destruction of the tribal mores was of necessity accompanied and followed by a period of profound personal demoralization. In the circumstances any restrained or high type of sex life was not to be expected and did not exist. There was, to be sure, even in the early days of slavery something more

of sex privacy and decency than was usual in the tribal situation. The marriage tie was loose but there was some degree of stability. Promiscuous sex life was common if not usual but polygamy was usually not permitted. The slave régime in North America pretty effectually crushed out the African type of marriage and sex life and familiarized the Negro with the monogamic family ideal.

Out of the inevitable demoralization following upon the systematic destruction of the sex and family heritage there gradually appeared a Negro sex and family life modeled upon that of the whites. Many masters exercised some control over the sex life of their slaves, prohibited polygamy, and discouraged sex promiscuity. European family morals were taught to certain slaves, especially the house servants, by many white families, and, among these groups, there gradually appeared a Negro sex and family life of the European type. Almost from the first, due to fortunate chance which brought them into contact with the more settled type of American family, certain individuals conformed in all respects to the conventional white standards and the number of the families increased as the Negroes came more and more into the culture.

The process of developing an effective monogamic family ideal in the Negro group as a whole was extremely slow. The Negroes in general were immersed in a vicious social environment. Their most intimate and frequently their only personal contacts were with other Negro and Indian slaves or with indentured servants of a nondescript sort. The number of slaves was continually increased by fresh importations from Africa or the West Indies and each new consignment of raw Negroes was a shock to the slowly developing standards of the partly assimilated groups. The natural balance of the sexes was usually disturbed and this, especially among an undisciplined group, results in widespread sexual irregularity.

The slave status of the Negroes was frequently an additional demoralizing force in the sex and family life. The recognition of the slave family was optional with the master and was subject to disturbance or destruction at the will of the master. In some places there were legislative enactments forbidding the separation of mothers and young children but in general slave families could be, and frequently were, broken up by the sale and transfers of slaves. But in spite of numerous exceptions, the marital and family rights of the slaves were perhaps generally recognized. The slave régime familiarized the Negroes with the monogamic ideal at the same time that it frequently made impossible any close adherence on their part to the ideal. Slavery did not develop the type of character conducive to a high order of family life nor did it provide the conditions necessary to the institution. The dependence of the slave on the master for food, clothing, shelter and the other things necessary to life and physical comfort destroyed any tendency toward the development of responsibility. The Negroes received their keep in return for their services and the master likewise provided the necessities of life for the wife and offspring. There was little in the conditions to stimulate a desire for decent home and family life or to develop ideals of sex restraint or purity.

The marriage ceremony was not usually such as to impress the Negro with the sanctity of the relation. It was in general nothing more than a sex association with the consent of the master. The slave marriage was not recorded and could be dissolved at any time that either person desired or at the will of the master. In a sense there was no legal marriage or legal family. The relationship carried no civil rights; the parents had no control over their children. Incontinence, fornication, adultery, bigamy carried no punishment and were the rule.

Illicit sex relations between the races were numerous

and made more difficult the establishment of a Negro family life. The debauchery of Negro girls was easy and the extent of this type of association is suggested by the rapid growth of a mixed-blood group. The colored servant and slave girls were generally powerless to resist the approaches of white men and without doubt cases of rape occurred, were perhaps numerous. It is, however, a mistake to assume that the sex association of the Negro girls and white men was in any considerable proportion of cases a matter of compulsion. Conventional sex behavior is a result of training: the individual attitudes spring pretty directly from the prevailing sex code; they are in no sense innate. The Negroes were without a body of inhibiting sex standards and they occupied an inferior social status. In the situation, sex association with individuals of the superior caste was a thing to be courted, an honor to be merited, and a distinction to be treasured. In some cases the relation was sought by the slave women in the interests of themselves and their children; an easier type of life and greater chances of freedom frequently resulted from a sentimental or blood relationship with the master's family.

At most times and places, increase in the number of the slave group was to the financial profit of the master, and a high birth rate was very generally encouraged: the larger the number of the babies the greater the profit of the owner. Where this was the case, the sex irregularity of the slave women was not discouraged, unless so promiscuous as to interfere with fecundity, and was very frequently encouraged especially in case of married slaves who had produced few children. More control was exercised over the sex behavior of the slave women in those places and at those times where the rearing of slave children was a loss and looked upon by the masters as one of the burdens incident to the system. But aside from these cases little if any restriction was placed upon the

birth rate and the slave women very generally produced children at a rate pretty close to physiological capacity. Slave families of from fifteen to twenty-five children were not unknown. In some places the annual crop of babies was an item of importance in the plantation economy and planters frequently purchased slave women because they were known to be good breeders.

THE DISORGANIZATION AND REORGANIZATION OF NEGRO LIFE FOLLOWING THE EMANCIPATION

The period following the emancipation of the slaves was one of general family disorder and readjustment. Whatever external control had been exercised over the sex and family life of the slaves disappeared. Freedom gave an opportunity to develop a stable sex and family life but it also gave an opportunity for unlimited sex indulgence and family disorder. There was an opportunity to form new sex unions and to discontinue those not in accord with personal inclination and the early part of the period was one of great sex and family disorganization. The personal contacts of the Negroes were greatly increased: previously their contacts had been pretty largely limited to the personnel of the slave plantation, now they came into contact with larger numbers of other Negroes and also into a very considerable contact with the low class whites. Sex promiscuity became general and the stability of the slave family seemed for a time almost completely to disappear.

There is of course no way to measure accurately the amount of sex irregularity that prevails in any group and descriptions of the sex life of the freedmen may understate or exaggerate the actual state of affairs. The amount of illegitimacy is almost the only index of sex standards. But there are no general figures for illegitimacy in the Negro population and, even at the present time, most

careful students refuse to attempt an estimate. The very general idea that practically all Negro women are unchaste is of course grossly unjust, though it is hardly possible to overstate the degree of sex looseness in the emancipated group. Such fragmentary figures of illegitimacy as are available indicate an amount of sex irregularity greatly in excess of that found among other groups in the population. In 1879 the figures for Washington, D. C., where the sex morals were not below and probably far above an average for the country, showed the percentage of Negro births reported as illegitimate to have been 18.8 per cent of the total; in 1907 the percentage of illegitimates was given as 21.4: in 1890 the percentage reported as illegitimate was 26.4. These figures are of course of doubtful value and cannot be made the basis of exact judgment, but they are an evidence that the standards of sex life among the freedmen were far below the standards of the white element of the population. The rapid spread of venereal diseases in the Negro population dates from the war and post-war period, and this is a further bit of evidence indicating how completely the Negroes threw off the restraints of slavery.

Out of the virtual sex promiscuity of the post-war days there gradually appeared an increasing number of stable families and an increasing number of individuals with high personal sex standards. The development was of course slow: the home life was generally poor and the chances of a decent life small. It must be understood, of course, that male continence and female chastity are artificial cultural values and are acquired by each individual only as the result of precept and example, and that it requires time for any group to develop a system of taboos effective in the control of the sex appetite. The mass of the Negroes remained more or less promiscuous but more and more individuals acquired a sense of sex morality and the number increased as education and better

home conditions made possible the more careful rearing of children.

THE PRESENT MARITAL STATUS OF THE NEGRO POPULATION

The sex composition of the Negro population has received attention in another connection. It will be recalled that in the total Negro population there is a considerable excess of females and that this sex composition has characterized the race since before the Civil War. It will also be recalled that, owing to a heavy short-distance migration of Negro girls who are in demand as unskilled servants in the cities, there is a considerable degree of masculinity in the Negro rural population and a correspondingly greater excess of females in the urban centers; that the excess of women is greatest in the ages of early maturity; and that it is enormously in excess in the mulatto division of the population, especially in the urban centers and in the years of early maturity.

These facts must be borne in mind as factors influencing the sex and family life. An excess of one sex over the other, especially in the years of early maturity, affects adversely the age and rate of marriage, so the legitimate birth rate. It has a marked effect also upon the illegitimate birth rate and upon the sex standards maintained by the group.

The marital status of the Negro peoples, being a matter of inquiry at the periodic census enumerations, may be known within the limits of accuracy of these returns. There are of course various sources of error attaching to the returns of marital condition. Men who are widowed, divorced, or for any reason living apart from their families are apt to be returned as single. Unmarried mothers frequently return themselves as married or as widowed or divorced and the married women, who have

been deserted by their husbands, as well as divorced women, frequently return themselves as widowed. The general trend of such errors is to an overstatement of the number of single men and an understatement of the number of men in other marital groups. In case of women, the opposite error tends to exist. The number of the two sexes married is necessarily equal and any inequality in the figures is an evidence of the incorrectness of the returns.

In 1920 approximately one-third of the Negro men and one-fourth of the Negro women above the age of fifteen years were returned as unmarried. Of each sex approximately sixty per cent were returned as married. Approximately six per cent of the men and nearly fifteen per cent of the women were returned as widowed. The percentages of men and women in each marital group are given in the following table for each of the four census enumerations at which these data were assembled.

MARITAL CONDITION OF THE NEGRO POPULATION 15 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER

	Males			*Females*		
	Single	*Married*	*Widowed*	*Single*	*Married*	*Widowed*
1890	39.8	55.5	4.3	30.0	54.6	14.7
1900	39.2	54.0	5.7	29.9	53.7	15.4
1910	35.4	57.2	6.2	26.6	57.2	14.8
1920	32.6	60.4	5.9	24.1	59.6	14.8

At each of these enumerations the percentage of single males was markedly lower among the Negroes than among the native white population. The percentage of males of the two races returned as married was approximately the same. The percentage of widowed males was very much greater in the Negro than in the white group. In the female groups the percentage of both single and

married was consistently higher in the white than in the Negro groups. The percentage widowed is greater for both sexes in the Negro than in the white groups. The percentage of each marital class in 1920 is given by races and sexes in the following table.

Comparative Marital Condition of the Negro and White Population 15 Years of Age and Over in 1920

	Males		*Females*	
	Negro	*White*	*Negro*	*White*
Single	32.6	35.5	24.1	28.4
Married	60.4	58.9	59.6	60.4
Widowed	5.9	4.6	14.8	10.2

In the period covered by the statistics, there has been a fairly marked increase in the percentage of Negroes married and a corresponding decline in the percentage reported as single. The two sexes show the same trend and in about the same degree. The percentage of persons returned as widowed has remained practically the same at each enumeration. The same changes in marital status appear in the figures for the white population: there has been a decline in the percentage of single persons of marriageable age, an increase in the percentage married and no significant change in the percentage returned as widowed. The changes in the marital status appear to be due to causes operating equally on the two races.

The age of marriage is somewhat lower among the Negro than among other groups in the population. Three and nine-tenths per cent of the Negro males are married under the age of twenty years. This is not only higher than the average of the population but is higher than that of any other single element of the population. In all ages under thirty years the Negroes maintain the lead in the percentage of males married. After the age of

thirty there is no great difference in the different population groups. Among the females there is a similar excess of married women in the younger age groups. Under the age of twenty years, twenty per cent of the Negro girls are married as against twelve and five-tenths per cent for the general population, and in the other age groups under thirty years a larger percentage of the Negro girls are married than in any other group of the population. The percentages of the Negroes and of the native white population who are married in the different age groups are given in the following table, divided by sexes.

PERCENTAGE OF THE NEGRO POPULATION AND OF THE NATIVE WHITE POPULATION MARRIED, BY SEX AND BY AGE GROUPS: 1920

Age Groups	*Male*		*Female*	
	Negro	*White*	*Negro*	*White*
15 years and over.....	60.4	56.7	59.6	58.6
15 to 19 years.....	3.9	1.9	20.0	11.3
20 to 24 years.....	43.0	26.9	62.8	49.4
25 to 29 years.....	67.3	58.9	75.4	71.4
30 to 34 years.....	75.2	70.4	77.6	78.8
35 to 39 years.....	80.1	80.1	75.4	79.6
45 to 54 years.....	82.0	80.8	66.2	74.1
55 to 64 years.....	77.7	77.9	50.7	61.6
65 years and over.....	65.5	65.8	27.2	34.9
Age unknown	52.2	26.4	44.9	39.7

The greatest differences in the marital condition of the races appear in the younger age groups. In the age groups twenty to twenty-four years the percentage married is much higher for the Negro than for the white in both urban and rural sections and for both sexes. The corresponding percentages appear in the table on page 210.

The marital condition of the Negro population shows some slight variations with different sections of the country. As a consequence of the selective nature of the migratory process, the percentage of single men is lower

PERCENTAGE OF THE NEGRO AND OF THE NATIVE WHITE POPULATION, 20-24 YEARS, MARRIED

Race and Age Group	*Males*		*Females*	
	Urban	*Rural*	*Urban*	*Rural*
20-24 years				
White	19.8	26.3	38.7	55.6
Negro	31.6	40.4	50.5	63.2

in the South than in the West and North. In the case of women there is no material difference in the percentage single as between North and South. But in the West the excess of males makes marriage contacts easier for women and the percentage of single females is lower than elsewhere. The hesitancy of unmarried women to undertake long distance migration also accounts in part for the small percentage of unmarried women in the West. In all sections of the country the percentage single of both men and women has shown decline at the successive enumerations. These facts however are not distinctive of the Negro populations: the same general differences between the sections of the country are true of the native white population.

The percentage single of both sexes is somewhat higher in the urban than in the rural Negro population. In 1910 in the urban Negro population over fifteen years of age thirty-seven per cent of the males and twenty-seven and seven-tenths per cent of the females were returned as single. In the urban population the percentage married among the males is highest in the South, and among females it is lowest in the South.

There is a marked difference in the marital condition in different cities. In 1910 the Atlanta figures showed the highest percentage of males married, 58.7, and Louisville and Columbus has the lowest, each with 49.3 per cent. The Pittsburgh figures gave the highest percentage

of married females, 60.1, and Richmond the lowest, 44.0. In only two of the nine Southern cities, Birmingham and Memphis, did the percentage of married among the Negro females 15 years of age and over amount to as much as 50 per cent, while in only one Northern city, Boston, did the percentage fall below 50 per cent. In the male population, the percentage married fell below fifty in only two cities, one Southern, Louisville, and one Northern, Columbus. Such differences as exist between cities of different size appear to be the result of the geographic location of the city, with the consequent influence on the sex composition and migratory character of the population, rather than the result of its size.

In the rural population 34.7 per cent of the males and 26.0 per cent of the females were returned as single. In the rural population the proportion married is higher for Negroes of all ages than for the native whites. The percentage single for both males and females is lowest and the percentage married of both sexes is highest in the South.

The maximum percentage of marriage is reached at a somewhat earlier age and the percentage is higher in the Negro rural population. The maximum of 73.7 in the urban group is reached in the age period 45 to 64 years while the maximum of the rural population, 83.8, is reached in the age period 35 to 44 years. For the urban females the maximum of 66.4 is reached in the age period 25-34 while among the rural females the maximum 80.1 is reached in the age period 35-44.

The proportion widowed is higher for the Negro than for the native white group for both sexes, all ages, and in both urban and rural populations. In the older age groups a much higher percentage of males than of females are married and a smaller percentage widowed. The difference in this respect is much greater in the urban districts. In the population 65 years and over, 60.5 per cent

of the males and 20.9 per cent of the females are married; in the rural population 69.4 per cent of the males and 33.8 per cent of the females are married. In the urban population 32.6 per cent of the males and 74.1 per cent of the females are widowed; in the rural districts, 26.0 per cent of the males and 61.9 per cent of the females are widowed.

THE FECUNDITY OF THE AMERICAN NEGROES

The Negro birth rate may not be stated with accuracy. Until recently very few of the states maintained reliable birth registration systems. In 1922 the birth registration areas included slightly over eighty-five per cent of the total population. But several states with large Negro populations — Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Missouri, and Oklahoma—lie outside the registration areas. In the areas of registration the Negro birth rate is high and shows a general tendency to increase. The figures appear in the following table.

BIRTH RATES IN BIRTH REGISTRATION AREAS: 1916-1922

Year	*Total*	*White*	*Colored*
1916	25.0	25.1	20.4
1917	24.7	24.7	24.4
1918	24.6	24.6	24.5
1919	22.3	22.1	25.2
1920	23.7	23.5	27.0
1921	24.3	24.0	27.9
1922	22.5	22.2	26.0

These figures for the birth registration areas may not be typical of the race as a whole. The Negroes live chiefly in the South and outside the registration area; they are largely rural; and of a general low economic, social and educational status. There is, therefore, every reason to believe that the Negro birth rate is higher than the rate in the registration areas would indicate and such

partial information as is available indicates that it is appreciably higher.

The race, sex, and age data of the general censuses afford some information in regard to racial fecundity. In the total population there has been a long and continuous decline in the proportion of children. In 1820, forty-three per cent of the Negro population were children under fourteen years of age; the proportion of children in the white population was approximately the same, 43.7. The number of children per each 1,000 women of child-bearing age was somewhat less for the Negroes than for the whites. In the hundred years following there was a marked decline in the proportion of children in each race. The decline represents in part a decrease in the mortality rates as well as a decline in the birth rates; both phenomena if operative over a period of years tend to increase the age of the population. Racial comparison is also distorted by the higher infant mortality among Negroes.

The following table gives in parallel columns the percentage of children under ten years of age for the Negro and the white population at each census period since 1830.

Percentage of Children Under Ten Years of Age

Year	*Negro*	*White*
1830	34.2	32.5
1840	33.2	31.6
1850	31.3	28.6
1860	30.5	28.4
1870	29.7	26.4
1880	32.5	25.9
1890	28.7	23.7
1900	27.4	23.3
1910	25.5	21.8
1920	23.0	21.5

The partial information available seems to indicate that the race in America has been slightly more prolific

than the white. At each enumeration the number of children per 1,000 women in the child-bearing ages was above the average of the population as well as above that of the native white. The proportion, however, has been lower for the Negro than for other elements of the population. In 1910, for example, the number of children under five years of age per 1,000 women within the age group 15 to 44 was, for all classes, 488; for the Negro, 519; for the white, 484; for the native white, 447; for the foreign-born white, 658; for the Indian, 751; and for the Chinese, Japanese, and other colored, 542.

The ratio of children to women has declined from census to census for both races. The decline has in general been more rapid for the Negro than for the white elements in the population. The figures for each census from 1850 to 1920 are shown in the following tabulation.

CHILDREN UNDER 5 YEARS OF AGE PER 1,000 WOMEN, 15 TO 44 YEARS OF AGE

Year	*Negro*	*White*
1850	741	659
1860	724	675
1870	692	610
1880	760	586
1890	621	517
1900	582	508
1910	519	484
1920	430	471

The decline in the percentage of Negro children in the younger age groups was particularly abrupt in the last decade. The number of children under five years of age in each one hundred of the Negro and white populations at the past three enumerations appears in the table on page 215.

The abruptness of the decline appears in the fact that in spite of the considerable increase in the Negro population and of the increase in the marriage rate the actual

PERCENTAGE OF CHILDREN UNDER 5 YEARS OF AGE

Year	*Negro*	*White*
1900	13.8	11.9
1910	12.9	11.4
1920	10.9	10.9

number of Negro children under five years of age was less in 1920 than at either of the previous enumerations: in 1900 the number of Negro children under five years of age was 1,215,655; in 1910, the number was 1,263,288; in 1920, it was 1,143,699.

For both races in the population, the proportion of children is higher in the Southern than in the Northern or Western states. In 1910, for example, the number of children per each 1,000 Negro women of child-bearing age was 519 for the country as a whole, 554 for the South, 282 for the North, and 231 for the West. The corresponding figures for the white population were 484; 617; 442; and 434. The same disproportion appears when comparison is made in terms of the number of married women: for the United States the number was 711; for the South, 757; for the North, 396; and for the West 315. For the white population the corresponding figures were 588; 749; 539; and 518. The significance of the contrast appears when it is noted that approximately nine-tenths of the Negro people live in the South and that approximately three-fourths of the white people live in the North and West.

A division of the Negro population according as the place of residence is urban or rural roughly parallels the division according to sections of the country; the Southern Negroes are predominantly a rural population, those in the North and West are chiefly urban dwellers. The characteristic difference that obtains between the rural and urban Negro populations is that the proportion of

children is much lower in the cities. The range is very great: in 1910, the number of children under 5 years of age for each 1,000 Negro women of child-bearing age was 153 in Kansas City, Missouri and 363 in Wilmington, N. C. The same difference exists in the white population: the number of children under 5 years of age per each 1,000 women of child-bearing age was, for cities of 25,000 or more inhabitants in 1910, 239 for the Negroes and 368 for the whites. The corresponding figures for smaller communities and rural regions were 596 for the Negroes and 552 for the whites. The marked differences in different sections of the country appear in the following tabular summary.

CHILDREN UNDER FIVE YEARS OF AGE PER EACH 1,000 WOMEN 15-44 YEARS OF AGE

Division	*Cities of 25,000 or More Inhabitants*		*Outside Cities of 25,000 or More Inhabitants*	
	Negro	*White*	*Negro*	*White*
United States	239	368	596	552
The South	248	360	609	665
The North	225	378	383	494
The West	207	282	270	530

THE PRESENT HOME AND FAMILY STANDARDS

Under the slave régime the typical Negro homes were small, roughly-constructed, one-room, log cabins. They were generally without windows, the single door serving for light and ventilation as well as for entrance and exit. The floors were usually of earth. In some places frame cabins with board floors were in use, and these were in some cases provided with windows. There were no sanitary provisions and the cabins gave no privacy: all ages and both sexes occupied the single room. A rude stone

fireplace sometimes with and sometimes without a chimney served a double purpose: it kept the cabin warm and over it were cooked the simple meals of the slaves. The furnishings were few and rude and simple.

After the Emancipation the typical Negro home remained a cabin of one room. To this was added in some cases a "lean-to" and presently a porch. Gradually there was added a little furniture as it could be provided. But progress was slow: half a century after the Emancipation forty per cent of the Negro families were still living in one-room cabins, another forty per cent were living in cabins of two rooms, and less than ten per cent of the families were living in houses of four or more rooms. In these Negro homes the light was generally poor, the windows being characteristically without glass and closed by a shutter except in fair weather; the air was bad, the room being used as a kitchen and sleeping room as well as a living room; there were no sanitary appliances and the houses almost invariably were dirty and infested with vermin. The homes afforded little privacy—the crowding was often greater than in the city slum—and frequently they did not even furnish an adequate protection against the elements.

The village Negro homes were not essentially different from the plantation cabins. They were rude shelters and without sanitary provisions. The windows were typically without glass and provided with a wooden shutter. The crowding was equally great and standard of living equally low. There was more vice in the village than in the open country and the conditions surrounding children were of the most demoralizing nature.

THE FUTURE OF THE AMERICAN NEGRO FAMILY

While the Negro people have made great progress in their sex and family ideals and in home ownership and

development, the actual standards are still low and the efforts at improvement commonly encounter peculiar difficulties.

The great majority of the race lives in the rural sections of the South. Here the typical Negro home, whether owned or rented, is a rude one or two room cabin, always ugly, usually unsanitary, and generally lacking the minimum of furniture and equipment essential to physical comfort. The poverty of the group makes improvement in the living conditions slow. The characteristic shiftlessness of a discouraged group as well as their habituation to hardship, discomfort, and low living standards are forces operating to retard improvement in the physical conditions incident to home and family life. As a result of the profound and general ignorance characteristic of this black peasantry and because of the general absence in the situation of inexpensive but attractive, comfortable, and sanitary cottages that might serve as models for imitation, they seldom make good use of the advantages which the natural situation provides. The almost equal backwardness of the rural whites limits the possibility of learning from this source. The situation is made more difficult by the Negro's lack of confidence in the white man's honesty,—an attitude commonly exploited to the limit by the local Negro leadership—by their frequent unwillingness to accept leadership from outside, and by the paucity of honest and competent local leaders within the racial group.

In certain respects the housing conditions of the urban Negro laboring classes in the South are inferior to those of the rural districts. From choice or necessity the Negroes live in segregated colonies in the poorest and most undesirable residence districts. In most of the towns and villages and in some of the larger cities as New Orleans the houses are duplicates of the plantation shacks, typically dilapidated and usually devoid of sanitary con-

veniences. In Baltimore, Washington, and many towns of the South the working-class Negroes live in alley tenements—one or two room shacks, cheaply constructed of rough boards, without ceiling or windows or sanitary arrangements.

In the Northern cities the housing conditions of the laboring-class Negroes are not greatly if at all superior to those in the South. The Negro population is generally concentrated in one or a few neglected and undesirable districts to which they have been attracted because of the relatively cheap rents or into which they have been forced by the difficulty of securing living quarters in the better residential areas. The buildings are generally old and frequently dilapidated, the surroundings usually neglected, the sanitation poor, and the health regulations not enforced. Even in the better class of houses occupied by laboring classes the ordinary conveniences are often lacking; the heating is usually from wood or coal stoves, the lighting is commonly by gas or by oil lamps, and bath rooms are unusual.

The Negro of means often meets extreme difficulty in finding a desirable neighborhood in which he may live, and the reputable elements frequently cannot afford the cost of decent homes. It is a frequent complaint of worthy Negroes that they can neither buy nor rent a house in a decent locality; city zoning, administrative or real estate devices, or property owners' agreements shut them out of the best districts. If by subterfuge they buy property in a desirable neighborhood it presently results in neighborhood deterioration; the migration of Negro families, seeking a decent neighborhood in which to live, frequently results in the course of a few years in the conversion of a desirable residence district into an undesirable neighborhood. When Negro families move in the whites move out, property values fall, deterioration takes place, and more Negro families move in. The first Negro

families are frequently followed by a sporting element, from which they sought to escape, and the neighborhood presently becomes a Negro slum.

The absence of privacy incident to the miserable housing conditions of the bulk of the race is conducive to extreme laxity in sex and family relationships. The general ignorance of parents and the general inefficiency of Negro family life makes impossible a proper care of children. In the lower class homes there is little direct training of children and little direct control exercised over their behavior. Because of poverty both parents frequently work away from home; in New York city proportionally seven times as many Negro as white women work away from home. The children are in consequence neglected, left unsupervised to play in the streets and alleys where, because of the neighborhood environment in which the great majority of Negro families live, they almost inevitably come into contact with vicious persons and have every opportunity to observe and become familiar with debased standards of life and conduct. The fact is also often pointed out that the Negroes are by temperamental endowment extrovert and are possessed of strong native sex appetite. These two facts taken together dispose the Negroes to a degree of sex promiscuity not common to other groups. The sex mores of the group as a whole are unquestionably behind the modern civilized standards. The number of illegimate children is excessive, the home life is poor, and the family is unstable. It needs also to be remembered that man is not monogamous by nature, that all sex codes are cultural acquisitions, and that conformity to the prevailing standards is the result of training and habituation, through association, to the accepted code. There is much in the conditions of Negro life that is not conducive to high sex and family standards. In the past, little importance has been placed on the virtue of Negro women and a very general assumption

even today is that most Negro women are unchaste. Negro womanhood is neither respected or protected; in some sections of the country virtue in Negro women is not generally recognized in the customs of the people nor protected by the law and the courts. This general attitude is not conducive to the maintenance of strict sex standards. The excess of Negro and particularly of mulatto women in the cities and of men in the country districts frequently forbids marriage and, especially in a group of backward culture, increases the tendency toward irregular sex habits. The postponement of marriage operates to the same end.

The homes and home life and the sex standards of the middle- and upper-class Negroes are essentially the same as those of white Americans of similar economic, educational, and social strata. So far as differences exist they are differences of degree which are to be explained and understood in historic and social terms—in terms of tradition, ignorance, poverty, isolation, and the modifying, retarding, and disturbing factors of a difficult environment.

The same tendency to avoid marriage or, married, sharply to limit the size of the family is observable in the upper-class Negro groups as in the cultural and upper economic strata of the white population. A recent study showed that fifty-five Negro professors of Howard University had come from families averaging 6.5 children, while the professors themselves had an average of 0.7 children. Some were unmarried but for each family formed the average number of children was 1.6. The birth rate of the cultured classes is apparently only one-third that of the masses. The explanation lies, doubtless, in the divergence of standards and income, and in the discouraging conditions of life faced by the Negroes of culture. Children are a source of worry and expense and lessen the personal opportunities of the parents. Moreover, many cultured persons hesitate to bring children

into the world to face the difficult life they would meet. They differ in this respect from the more ignorant classes chiefly in the fact that they have come into possession of knowledge of means of controlling impregnation.

The review of Negro sex standards, family life, and home conditions shows a remarkable advance all along the line. In view of the relatively short period of freedom and the general economic and social condition of Negro life a complete conformity to white standards is not a reasonable expectation.

The Negroes respond to higher standards much more readily when they are introduced by members of their own race, than when effort is made by white persons to change existing standards and practices. As the educated and cultured classes of the Negro population increase they will more and more become the model of behavior. As the boys and girls now in the schools and colleges become home-makers and models for the race, rapid progress in conforming to European sex and family standards may be anticipated. There is no inherent reason why the race should not gradually measure up to accepted standards. Most tendencies are toward a more wholesome home life, and there is reason to believe that the standards will continue to rise and the Negroes conform to modern practices as fully as any other similarly circumstanced group. But there is no solution for the Negro family problem except to the extent that there is a solution for the race problem as a whole.

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CHAPTER X

THE ECONOMIC STATUS OF THE NEGRO

NEGRO OCCUPATIONS AND OWNERSHIP OF PROPERTY PRIOR TO THE EMANCIPATION

At all periods the Negroes have been an important factor in the economic life and development of the American South. As slaves they were employed chiefly in agriculture, especially in the production of cotton, rice, tobacco, and sugar. They were also the chief element in the supply of common labor in the towns. A small percentage of the slaves were employed in the skilled and semi-skilled trades; every considerable plantation had workmen trained in various handicrafts. Judged by present day standards on such samples of their handicraft as remain, this slave work was very crude and indicates nothing in regard to native ability along these lines. They owned no property.

The free Negroes in general had the same legal rights as the white men in respect to the acquisition and ownership of property. There were some restrictions, particularly in regard to firearms, but these were generally suspended in the case of individuals known to be peaceful and orderly. They could engage in most of the occupations open to white men though, in the later slave days, their freedom in this respect was sometimes restricted. The regulations in regard to residence and travel, deemed necessary as police measures, interfered in some cases with the free Negroes' economic advance.

A considerable number of the free Negroes accumulated

a little property and a few became fairly prosperous and highly respected members of their communities. A few members of the free group were slave holders. In general, restrictions were placed upon their ownership of this form of property but the ownership of Negro slaves by Negroes began quite early and the number of slaves so owned increased with the years. In 1790 there were 195 free "colored", presumably Negro, families reported as slave holding and the number may have been larger since data on this point are not available for several of the states. In 1860 there were 132 slave-owning Negroes in the city of Charleston and it has been estimated that approximately 6,000 Negroes owned a total of 18,000 slaves during the life of the institution. This considerable number is better understood when it is remembered that in many cases free Negro men bought their wives and owned them as slaves and that in such cases the children of the slave wife were slaves of their father.

The great majority of the free Negroes were unskilled laborers who owned little or no property. They had in many places a traditional monopoly on certain occupations. But in the decades before the Civil War they suffered a severe economic setback due to the coming of large numbers of European immigrants. In the new competition the Negroes were quickly displaced from many of their traditional occupations. As cooks, house-servants, waiters, barbers, coachmen, and in various forms of rough labor their monopoly disappeared as soon as an alternative labor supply appeared. The opposition to their entrance into skilled industry increased: the white workmen opposed them and the master mechanics usually refused to take them as apprentices. The abolitionists carried on an agitation for the establishment of "manual labor schools" in which Negro children would be given the industrial training which they could not get as apprentices. A convention called in 1830 to consider the problem of

the free Negro recommended the reconstruction of their schools on the manual labor basis. The abolitionists approved the recommendation but popular sentiment remained opposed to the industrial training of Negroes. The few industrial schools established were not successful, partly for the reason that they were not honestly industrial but undertook to subordinate industrial training to literary education or endeavored to combine the two. The riots in Washington, New York, Cincinnati, and elsewhere in the thirties and forties were due in some part to the bitter antagonism of white skilled laborers against Negro competition.

THE EMANCIPATION OF THE SLAVES AND THE ECONOMIC REORGANIZATION OF NEGRO LIFE

At the time of the Emancipation a few Negro individuals had some savings. There were a few planters and small tradesmen, and a number were skilled or semi-skilled tradesmen. But the overwhelming majority, both North and South, were unskilled workmen without savings. The total amount of property owned by Negroes in 1866 is liberally estimated to have been under twenty million dollars. The granting of freedom left them without guidance or protection. Many of them, disinclined to continue regular work, drifted to the towns and army posts awaiting federal aid and anticipating a redistribution of Southern lands and other property. The irregular life and extreme poverty resulted in a great increase in disease, vice and crime.

As the white South came again into control various restrictions were placed upon the Negroes in the effort to restore order and to reinstate, in so far as possible, the status of slavery which could no longer exist in name. To control the idleness and wandering, various states enacted vagrancy laws of special application to Negroes,

the term often being so defined as to include those engaged in any activity not approved by the white group as well as all idle and disorderly Negroes. Many apprenticeship laws applicable to Negroes only were enacted and these effected in some cases a virtual reinstatement of slavery. The restrictions placed upon the occupations that Negroes might follow differed from state to state. It was commonly made unlawful for them to sell liquor or run taverns and in most cases they were forbidden to own or carry firearms and weapons. In some cases the provisions were such as seriously to interfere with their economic progress: South Carolina virtually restricted their activity to farming, domestic service, and common labor.

In the long period of experimentation and reorganization the race gradually advanced its economic position. The advance was irregular, at times halting and uncertain. In certain respects there was deterioration: there was a pretty general decline in craftsmanship, and certain occupations in which the race at one time had a virtual monopoly were lost. But they gradually acquired an interest in the land and an entrance into a more varied group of occupations. A small property-owning, middle-class group emerged. The advance was retarded in many respects by prejudice and discrimination but gains were made. The value of the property now owned by Negroes is estimated to be approximately two billion dollars.

THE PRESENT OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF THE NEGRO POPULATION

At the present time the proportion of Negroes ten years of age or over engaged in gainful occupation is greater than in any other group in the population. In 1910 there were 4,455,747 Negroes gainfully employed, which was 71.0 per cent of the Negro population of ten years or over.

In 1920 the number was 4,824,151 or 59.9 per cent of the total of these age groups. The foreign-born white groups, who are closest to the Negroes in this respect, had 60.3 per cent employed in 1910 and 57.4 per cent in 1920.

The following table gives the facts in regard to employment for the different divisions of the population at the last two enumerations.

PERCENTAGE OF THE POPULATION 10 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER ENGAGED IN GAINFUL OCCUPATIONS

Class of Population	*1910*	*1920*
All classes	53.3	50.3
Native white of native parentage	48.4	46.6
Native white of foreign or mixed parentage	50.4	49.7
Foreign-born white	60.3	57.4
Negro	71.0	59.9
Indian, Chinese, and other colored	61.1	53.4

The high percentage of Negroes employed is due in large part to the number of women workers and the decrease in the decade ending in 1920 was due to change in the percentage of women workers. In the decade the percentage of women employed declined from 54.7 per cent to 38.9 per cent and there was an actual as well as a percental decline. There were more men gainfully employed in 1920 than in 1910 though the percentage fell from 87.4 to 81.1. The percentage of Negro men gainfully employed was less at each enumeration than was that of certain other population groups. In 1910, the percentage was 87.4, while the average for all classes was 81.3 per cent and that for the foreign-born whites was 90.0 per cent. In 1920 the percentage of Negro men was 81.1 as against 78.2 for all classes and 89.3 for the foreign-born white. At both dates the percentage of Negro women employed was greater than for any other population group.

The following table shows the comparative facts in regard to the employment of women in 1910 and 1920.

PERCENTAGE OF WOMEN 10 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER GAINFULLY EMPLOYED IN THE UNITED STATES IN 1910 AND 1920

Class of Population	*1910*	*1920*
All classes	23.4	21.1
Native white—native parentage	17.1	17.2
Native white—foreign or mixed parentage	24.6	24.8
Foreign-born white	21.7	18.4
Negro	54.7	38.9
Indian, Chinese and other colored	17.6	13.7

The bulk of Negro laborers are employed in a comparatively few lines. In 1910 the percentage of the gainfully employed in the five main occupations was as follows: agricultural pursuits 53.7; domestic and personal service 33.0; manufacturing and mechanical pursuits 6.9; trade and transportation 5.2; and professional service 1.2. The

DISTRIBUTION, BY GENERAL OCCUPATIONAL DIVISIONS, OF WORKERS 10 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER, GAINFULLY EMPLOYED IN 1920

General Division of Occupation	*All Classes*	*Native White, Native Parentage*	*Native White of Foreign or Mixed Parentage*	*Foreign-born White*	*Negro*	*Indians, Chinese, and Other Colored*
All occupations	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Agriculture, forestry, and animal husbandry	26.3	31.1	16.5	12.0	45.2	43.9
Extraction of minerals	2.6	2.4	1.8	4.9	1.5	1.1
Manufacturing and mechanical industries	30.8	26.2	34.6	46.9	18.4	13.0
Transportation	7.4	7.6	7.6	7.1	6.5	4.6
Trade	10.2	10.7	12.4	11.1	2.9	7.9
Public service	1.9	2.0	2.2	1.6	1.0	1.2
Professional service	5.2	6.5	5.9	3.0	1.7	1.7
Domestic and personal service	8.2	5.0	6.1	9.9	22.1	25.4
Clerical occupations	7.5	8.5	12.9	3.4	0.8	1.3

present distribution given in the preceding tabulation allows comparison with the gainfully employed of the other population groups.

During the past decade there has been a somewhat marked improvement in the economic position of the Negroes. This is reflected in the decline in the number of women employed and in the shift in numbers in different occupations. The following table gives the number employed at the last two enumerations in the chief of their occupations.

NUMBER OF NEGRO WOMEN IN OCCUPATIONS EMPLOYING AS MANY AS 2,000 NEGRO WOMEN IN 1920

Occupation	*1910*	*1920*
Musicians and teachers of music	2,347	2,150
Iron, steel and other metal industries	349	2,208
Elevator tenders and managers	1	3,073
Nurses, trained	2,158	3,199
Business (storekeepers, etc.)	3,200	3,440
Restaurant, café and lunchroom keepers	2,734	3,455
Lumber and furniture industries	1,456	4,066
Janitresses	2,124	5,448
Ladies' maids	10,239	5,488
Clerks in stores, etc	2,898	5,932
Laborers, general	6,159	6,968
Charwomen and cleaners	6,962	7,183
Textile industries	2,234	7,257
Food industries	6,347	7,724
Clothing industries	2,003	7,861
Bookkeepers, stenographers, etc	2,941	8,301
Boarding and lodging house keepers	9,183	9,536
Chamber maids	14,071	10,443
Hairdressers and manicurists	3,782	12,660
Housekeepers	9,911	13,250
Nurses (not trained)	17,874	13,888
Waitresses	7,377	14,155
Laundresses (in laundries)	10,371	21,084
Cigar and tobacco factory workers	10,746	21,829
Dressmakers and seamstresses	38,277	26,961
Teachers	22,528	29,244
Farmers	79,308	79,893
Farm laborers (working out)	263,403	162,443
Cooks	205,584	168,710
Other servants	184,889	216,376
Laundresses (not in laundries)	361,551	283,557
Farm laborers (home farm)	704,150	364,878
Total	1,997,207	1,532,620

In some occupations the Negroes comprise a considerable percentage of all persons so employed. This is particularly true of agriculture and domestic service.

PER CENT NEGROES OF THE TOTAL PERSONS IN SELECTED CLASSES OF OCCUPATIONS

Occupation	*1890*	*1900*	*1910*	*1920*
Domestic and personal service....	22.6	23.6	20.5	31.2
Agricultural pursuits	21.7	20.6	23.1	19.9
Manufacture and mechanical pursuits	3.6	3.9	6.5	6.9
Trade and transportation.....	4.3	4.4	5.5	4.8
Professional service	3.6	3.7	3.8	3.7

THE NEGRO FARMERS

At all times the Negroes have been engaged in largest numbers in agricultural pursuits. Of those over ten years of age gainfully employed in 1920 over 45 per cent were in some form of agriculture. This was very greatly in excess of the per cent of agricultural workers in any other element of the population: the per cent for the total population was 26.3, and for the native whites of native parentage, who are closest to the Negroes in this respect, the percentage was 31.1. The percentage engaged in agricultural pursuits was less in each case than it was a decade earlier. In 1910, there was 55.7 per cent of the Negroes, 40.0 per cent of the native white of native parentage, and 33.2 per cent of the total population so engaged. In spite of the fact that they have pushed their way into a number of occupations, agriculture is still the most important pursuit and they form an important part of the agricultural workers of the country. In 1910 they composed 22.9 per cent of all persons so employed; in 1920 they composed 16.8 per cent of the total. At the present time, about 95 per cent of the Negroes engaged in agricultural pursuits are resident in the South.

The number of Negro farmers has increased in the recent decade: in 1900 the total was 746,715; in 1910 it was 893,720; and in 1920 it was 925,708. This indicates a decreasing rate of increase: it was 146,655 in the decade ending in 1920 as against 32,338 in the last decade. Moreover, the increase was confined to the Southern states: in the North the number of Negro farms decreased from 14,016 in 1900, to 12,052 in 1910, and to 9,380 in 1920. The decreasing rate of increase in Negro farms has been parallel with the trend in the number of white farms. The total increase in the number of white farms in the decade 1910-1920 was 57,835 as against an increase of 471,011 in the preceding decade.

The total acreage owned by Negroes decreased by two and one-third million acres in the past decade: in 1910 the total acreage owned was 19,076,463; in 1920 the total acreage owned had declined to 16,704,192.

There has been a similar decrease in the number of Negro farm owners; the number decreased in the decade 1910-1920 from 218,972 to 218,612. The number of Negro farm tenants correspondingly increased; from 678,118 in 1910 to 714,441 in 1920. The decline in the number of farm owners was due to changes in the North where the Negro owned farms numbered 7,498 in 1910 and only 5,749 in 1920. There was a slight increase in the South but not sufficient to offset the Northern decline. During this decade there was a similar decrease in the number of white farm owners.

A much smaller percentage of Negroes than of white farmers own the land they cultivate. Less than one-fourth of the Negroes and over two-thirds of the white farmers own the property they are operating. The percentage of owners in both races shows a slight tendency to decrease. The following table gives the per cent distribution for the last three enumerations for both racial groups.

PER CENT DISTRIBUTION OF FARMS IN THE UNITED STATES

	1900		1910		1920	
	White	*Negro*	*White*	*Negro*	*White*	*Negro*
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Owners	69.4	26.9	68.1	26.2	67.1	24.6
Managers	1.2	0.2	1.0	0.2	1.2	0.2
Tenants	29.5	72.9	30.8	73.6	31.7	75.2

The proportion is of course determined by the Negro farmers of the South since they compose the majority of the Negro agricultural group. In the South less than one-fourth of the farm-operating group are owners; in the North slightly over two-thirds of the Negro farmers own the land they till; and in the West about seven-tenths of the Negro farmers are owners.

The size of Negro-owned farms is considerably below the average size of farms owned by the white farmers, and there is a tendency for the acreage to decrease. In 1900 the average acreage per farm of all land owned by white farmers was 156.3 acres; in 1920 this average acreage had increased to 168.0. The Negro-owned farms in 1900 averaged 79.1 acres; in 1920 the average acreage had decreased to 71.6. The smaller average size of the Negro-owned farms is in part due to location: generally speaking, the size of all farms is smaller in the South than in other sections of the country.

The value of Negro-owned land has, however, increased in the recent decades. In 1910 the valuation of all farms and farm property owned by Negroes was $440,922,-439.00; in 1920 the valuation was $800,598,024.00. This remarkable increase is due to the general rise in the valuation of all farm property in this decade and to the fact that farm property in the South increased proportionally more than did similar values in the North and West.

The average value of lands and buildings is much less

for Negroes than whites. In the United States in 1910, the average value of Negro farms was $22.23 per acre, the average value of white farms $40.57. In 1920 the average value of Negro farms was $56.29, the average value of white farms $70.02.

NEGRO TENANT FARMING

Some three-fourths of the Negro farmers are in the tenant class. The large plantations are commonly subdivided into an acreage that one Negro family can operate. These small plots are rented by the season and worked by the renter and his family. The degree of independence of the renter depends upon his ability and financial responsibility. If he pays a cash rent he is free from supervision and interference.

But the typical Negro renter is without means, and gives a share of the crop in lieu of a money rent. This system developed through trial and error in the period of readjustment of the labor to the land at the close of the Civil War. The overthrow of the slave labor system left the Negroes with the problem of making a living. Their chief asset was physical strength but they were wholly irresponsible and not disposed to work beyond the necessary minimum. In order to hold the necessary labor until the crop was harvested the planters would employ the Negro for a period of six months or a year, the wage not to be paid until the end of the period of employment, the planter furnishing rations for the Negro and his family during the period of employment. Another common arrangement was to pay a monthly wage and to furnish in addition a plot of ground that the laborer might cultivate for his own profit, the landlord furnishing teams, machinery, and seed and allowing the man certain days each week to cultivate and harvest his crop. The four-day plan was an arrangement by which the Negro worked

four days for the employer and was allowed the other days to cultivate a plot furnished him by the landlord who also provided the seed, stock, and farm implements. The laborer under this arrangement received a weekly ration. Out of the various experiments tried the share-crop system gradually developed and at the present time a very large percentage of the Southern Negro farm tenants are croppers.

In this arrangement the tenant is supplied with tools, machinery, seed, and other necessaries as well as with land and farm equipment in return for which the landlord receives a stipulated share of the crop, usually fifty per cent. In another system of tenancy rather widely practiced in certain parts of the South, the tenant furnishes the stock, implements, seed, and fertilizer, paying the landlord one-quarter to one-third of the crop produced. A common division is one-fourth of the cotton and one-third of the corn and other crops. In either arrangement the tenant furnishes the labor. The landlord frequently advances the tenant money or provisions which stand as a charge against his share of the crop. If the tenant neglects the crop, and the typical Negro tenant is not inclined to do any more work than is absolutely necessary, the landlord may hire the necessary labor and deduct the cost from the tenant's share of the crop.

The system, which grew up and persists because of the poverty and weakness of the Negro, often keeps the cropper dependent. The landlord has a considerable financial investment and assumes the risk of crop failure. Consequently, he takes a very active interest in, and assumes supervision of, the tenant's activity. The value of the arrangement varies with the character of the landlord. The average cropper is uneducated and dull, often stupid and irresponsible. The landlord's supervision may determine the success rather than the failure of the joint enter-

prise and be as much to the advantage of the tenant as to the land owner. The tenant receives the supervision needed to be successful. It is the system that has enabled the Negroes in the South to make the agricultural advance that they have; it has led to the independence of many ambitious and industrious Negroes.

Toward the croppers the landlords are forced to assume a patriarchal attitude. They care for them in sickness, settle family and community quarrels, protect them from exploitation by others, and see that they are fed, clothed, and cared for in time of disaster. The common desire of the Negroes is to escape the supervision of the landlords. This they can do by becoming renters, paying cash for the use of the land, and assuming the responsibility for crop failure. The landlords, too, are glad to free themselves of responsibility and rent without risk. But success still very largely depends upon the continuous and minute supervision from which both landlord and tenant wish to be free.

The system contains latent possibilities of fraud and exploitation; the dishonest landlord may take advantage of the system. The average Negro cropper will spend as much money during the season as the man who is advancing him will permit. He is sometimes charged exorbitant rates for money and supplies advanced and may end the year so deeply in debt to the landlord that his share of the crop may be insufficient to cover the obligation. The supplies are often furnished from a plantation store and the tenant not allowed to buy elsewhere. This is a method of protecting both the landlord and the tenant but one that can be used by the unscrupulous landlord for purposes of robbing the tenants. The classing of cotton requires a degree of skill and ability that the Negro commonly does not possess and the dishonest planter profits by taking advantage of this ignorance.

NEGRO PEONAGE

A type of debt slavery, often inaccurately referred to as peonage, has frequently developed in the South from the system of farming and the laws governing labor contracts on the one hand and the operation of the criminal law and penal system on the other.

The paternalistic system of agriculture may be a great aid to the penniless Negro who is ambitious to establish himself as an independent farm operator. It tides him through periods of hard times and gives him the means necessary to the successful harvesting of his crop as well as the advice and direction of a landlord who has assumed the financial responsibility for the enterprise.

But the tenant in the situation loses some of his independence: he is in the debt of another person and subject to that person's supervision. Because of poor judgment, crop failure, or other reason he may be unable to discharge his obligation and virtually cease to be a free person. As a protection to the landlord he may be required to remain on the plantation until he has by another crop worked out the debt contracted. It may be necessary that he borrow in order to live, thereby going deeper into debt, and his obligations may become such that he virtually becomes a serf. An unscrupulous planter, by indulging the shiftless tendency of the Negro and his disposition to borrow against the crop, may get a tenant so deeply in debt that the tenant share of the crop will not cover the amount of the indebtedness. In such case the tenant is legally bound to the plantation until the obligation is discharged.

The criminal law and practice has fostered another and slightly different type of slavery. In the case of Negro petty offenders it has been customary to impose a fine-work sentence: that is, the offender has the choice between paying a cash fine or working a specified number of days

in the chain gang. The offenders are commonly unable to pay the fine. In such cases the fine may be paid by a white friend and the Negro freed. In some cases it is paid by the employer or planter on agreement that the offender work out the amount for him at a small wage, perhaps fifty cents a day. On such agreement the contract labor law allows the planter to hold the convict until the debt is paid. The offender is then charged for food, clothing, and money advanced him by his employer. If the offender runs away, refuses to work, or disobeys the commands of the master he may be returned to jail and this results in the imposition of a new sentence.

Obviously, the system is open to abuse and often is grossly abused. Plantation owners and employers may conspire with the authorities to recruit cheap labor in this manner. Negroes may be arrested for slight offenses and farmed out to employers. The shiftlessness and extravagance of the offenders are then taken advantage of and instead of discharging the obligations they may go deeper and deeper into debt; the white man is the bookkeeper and his statement of the account is accepted by the court. With or without the consent of the debtor, the employer may sell or transfer his claim against the Negro to some other farmer who is in need of labor. This is of course equivalent to selling the Negro.

Other laws also foster peonage. The probation law of Georgia, passed in 1913, allowed the defendant, in counties having no regular salaried probation officer, to serve a sentence outside the jail or chain gang under the supervision of the court. The purpose was doubtless an effort to mitigate the evils of the penal system so far as young children were concerned. The court was allowed to appoint a volunteer probation officer to aid the probationer in carrying out the terms of the probation. Since only a few of the counties had regularly appointed probation officers, the delinquents were farmed out. Like the prac-

tice above, this plan is open to grave abuse. The parole law of 1908 has also been grossly abused in this way through the provision that makes it possible for a prisoner, after serving a minimum time, to be paroled to an individual for an indefinite period which may be for years.

In recent years, legalized peonage through the leasing out of convicts has stopped: its legislative basis was declared unconstitutional by the United States Supreme Court in 1911. That the practice has not entirely ceased is evident from time to time in exposures such as that in Georgia in 1921. There is no strong public opinion opposed to it and the employer is often a law unto himself. It has attracted wide comment because of its spectacular features but is of trifling importance in comparison with the type of peonage inherent in the tenant system operated by powerful landlords and weak and ignorant Negroes.

THE NEGRO IN INDUSTRY

Negro workers have been and still are a comparatively unimportant factor in the industrial life of the nation. In various non-manufacturing pursuits their labor has always been in demand but within the industrial field they have been restricted to unskilled work. Even in the unskilled occupations they have been in many cases unable to succeed in competition with the recent immigrants. They have had little opportunity and have made little advance in the skilled trades. In the decade prior to the World War there was a steady migration of Northern Negroes to the South for the reason that they could not earn a living in the North in competition with immigrant labor.

The outbreak of the World War gave the Negroes an industrial opportunity they had not previously enjoyed. The stoppage of immigration, the army mobilization, and the sudden stimulation of industrial activity created a

scarcity of common labor. Men and women were needed in large numbers to do work supplying food, clothing, and war supplies and to take the place of more efficient men sent elsewhere. To secure workers the industrial plants stimulated a flow from the great reservoir of black labor in the South. There was a general exodus of Negroes from the South: approximately one-third of a million migrated during the decade ending in 1920. After the emergency, in the period of readjustment, there was a disposition to replace Negro workers or use them in less skilled capacities and at lower pay. In the fall of 1922 there was a renewal of this migratory movement. The imposition of new restrictions on immigration and the expanding business created a demand for unskilled labor and the industrial plants again turned to the Southern Negro supply. Probably one-half million Negroes migrated northward within the following year. A considerable percentage of these migrants have found work, chiefly as common laborers, in the steel industry, in the packing plants, in coal mining, and in various other industries.

The employment of Negroes in industry has in nearly all cases been because white laborers were not available. Their adaptability to skilled labor has not been demonstrated and in processes demanding highly skilled work they have not been employed. And in work that assumes the mastery of a trade,—painting, carpentry, bricklaying, and the like—they are seldom considered if other labor is available. Rightly or wrongly, there has been a general belief that they are not fitted to perform technical tasks of other than a routine nature. The reputation that the race has had for shiftlessness and undependability has militated against the employment of individuals in positions of responsibility. When individuals have been given a trial at skilled labor the results have sometimes been surprising to employers and superintendents. The

fact remains, however, that many employers who have used Negro labor in manufacturing industries find them less satisfactory than white laborers. Reports from non-manufacturing industries are much more favorable to the Negroes. The difference lies probably in the fact of greater experience in non-manufacturing types of pursuits. If the Negroes are to gain and hold a place in industry they must do so by measuring up to prevailing labor standards—or above them. Sentiment and inertia may help or hinder the rapidity of their advance but in the end their success will depend upon their ability to meet competition.

A number of facts for which the Negroes themselves are in no way responsible have operated severely to limit their occupational field and virtually to exclude them from many occupations. They are seldom employed for positions that entail authority over white workers, and the popular prejudice against them in certain relations often prevents the advancement of competent men. Promotion would sometimes raise unpleasant social questions. In other cases to advance a competent Negro worker and allow him to occupy a position in which he would be the superior of white workers would antagonize the latter and thus tend to reduce the efficiency of the plant. A similar thing is true in regard to work that implies association on an equal footing with white employees: Negroes are rarely employed or advanced to such positions. If the nature of the work is such that the employees must meet customers in any capacity other than that of menials, the Negro has no chance of employment. Only white persons are employed as sales people, conductors, motormen on street cars, solicitors, and the like when white people are the customers. The employer in such cases is merely making a business adjustment to the racial attitudes of the public his business serves.

THE NEGRO AND THE LABOR UNIONS

The entrance of the Negroes into skilled industry has been consistently and at times bitterly opposed by the labor unions. The efforts of these organizations have been so to restrict and monopolize skilled labor as to force the payment of a living wage. The idea has been current among white workmen that the Negroes should be crushed and eliminated whenever their labor seems to compete with that of white men.

The American Federation of Labor has consistently expressed itself as opposed to racial discrimination. But the Federation cannot control the attitude of the individual or affiliated unions and these separate organizations have in general refused to admit Negroes. The friendly attitude of the Federation has resulted in the organization of many federal locals affiliated directly with the national organization. Of the 110 affiliated unions, eight expressly bar Negroes from membership and in many cases the local chapters exclude them even though they may be eligible to membership in the national or international unions. Other unions have no Negro members though they do not expressly exclude them. In some cases this is explained on the ground that there are no Negroes following the trade or that if there are such they have not applied for membership.

Of the unions not affiliated with the American Federation of Labor the railroad brotherhoods exclude Negroes by constitutional provision, while the Amalgamated Clothing Workers and the Industrial Workers of the World not only admit them but actively endeavor to secure their membership.

There can be no doubt that the action of the unions has curtailed the chances of Negroes in certain industries. Their first foothold in some industries has been secured by "scabbing" in time of strikes; the only reason for the

first employment being the employer's inability to secure any other labor. The attitude of the unions has in many cases antagonized the Negroes. They remember the discrimination practiced by their white fellow workers and look upon the employers as their friends. Overlooking the fact that the employer's only interest is in securing an efficient labor supply at the lowest possible wage, they side with them rather than with other workers in times of industrial dispute. The Negro workers are often advised by their leaders to remain outside the labor organizations when they are given a chance to join. It is also true that the Negro workers have in some cases profited by the exclusion policy of white unions: their exclusion from the union being the thing that enabled them to retain a place in the industry. Since the policy of the unions is to insist upon a uniform wage the Negroes by joining the unions would lose all chance of employment: if compelled to pay the same wage to Negro as to white workers, few if any employers would hire the Negroes.

The Negro workers are making gains in organization. The general present-day attitude of labor leaders is favorable to their organization and inclusion in the unions. There is a growing recognition of the interdependence of all workers and a consequent growing tolerance of the black men in labor organizations. It is coming to be accepted doctrine in labor circles that this must be done for the protection of all workers as well as for the good of the Negro laborers.

THE NEGRO IN BUSINESS

Negro business is nearly all a development of the period of freedom and in major part a development of very recent years. In 1866 the businesses conducted by members of the race were few in number and small in size. The *Negro Year Book* estimates that possibly four thou-

sand members of the race were engaged in some sort of business enterprise at the time of the Emancipation. In this total are included such activities as dressmaking, barbering, draying, huckstering, and the like as well as others of a slightly more pretentious nature, but all were small and represented a very trifling capital investment.

At present, including every sort of undertaking that can in any way be classed as business enterprise, there are perhaps 70,000 individuals operating business establishments. This total includes over ten thousand boarding and lodging house keepers and an equal number of persons operating small concerns as barber shops, shoe repair shops, and the like in connection with trades. In 1920 the enumeration returns gave 41,473 as the number of Negroes engaged in various sorts of business.

The *Negro Year Book* gives the following as a presumably complete list of all business enterprises in which 200 or more Negroes are engaged.

It is obvious from this list that the bulk of the business concerns are small undertakings and represent a small outlay of capital. The total annual amount of business of all the concerns is estimated liberally at one billion, five hundred million dollars.

Of business endeavors of more individual consequence, the Negroes have been most successful in insurance. From the point of view of capital involved it is the largest field of business they have entered. There are at present, according to the figures compiled by the United States Department of Labor, some twenty-five active companies selling chiefly life, health, and accident policies. The capitalization figures available for fourteen companies total one and one-quarter million dollars and the total assets of all the companies amounts to a little over six million dollars. The amount of claims paid by these companies during the past fiscal year was approximately three million dollars.

BUSINESS ENTERPRISES IN WHICH 200 OR MORE NEGROES ARE ENGAGED

Restaurant and lunch-room keepers	7,511
Grocers	6,339
Truck gardeners	6,242
Hucksters and peddlers	3,194
Butchers and meat dealers	3,009
Undesignated retail dealers	2,123
Coal and wood dealers	1,754
Pool-room keepers	1,582
Undertakers	1,558
Contractors and builders	1,454
Real estate dealers	1,369
Junk dealers	1,132
Hotel keepers and managers	1,020
Proprietors of transfer companies	990
Drug stores	910
General stores	884
Produce and provisions, dealers in	689
Candy and confectionery	573
Dairying	526
Fruit growers	345
Manufacturers and proprietors of clothing factories	340
Garage keepers and managers	309
Stock raising	296
Drygoods, fancy goods and notions	262
Furniture	256
Ice dealers	253
Jewelry	224
Saw and planing mill proprietors	219
Fruit dealers	216
Buyers and shippers of grain and live stock	214
Employment office keepers	213

In 1924 there were 73 Negro banks doing business. Like the insurance companies they are in all cases small and cater chiefly to Negro depositors and business men. The total capital of the 73 institutions was $6,250,000: the annual volume of business is about $100,000,000.

The race in America lacks business experience and is limited in opportunity to obtain it. There are almost no openings in white establishments for the Negro youths who would learn: the type of position commonly open affords little or no opportunity to learn the business technique. The going business concerns of the race are too few and small to afford apprenticeship to many ambitious

individuals. Consequently the Negroes who aspire to a business career often make the venture without training and in most cases they fail.

THE NEGRO IN THE PROFESSIONS

Relative to population the number of persons engaged in professional pursuits is very much less in the Negro than in the white population. In the white population of native parentage 6.5 per cent of gainfully employed persons are giving some form of professional service: in the Negro population the professional group includes 1.7 per cent of the gainfully employed. In 1910 the average population per professional person was 51 for the white and 146 for the Negro; in 1920 the number was 41 for the whites and 130 for the Negroes.

The number of persons reporting themselves as members of the different professional service groups is given in the following table separately for each sex.

NEGROES IN PROFESSIONAL SERVICE GROUPS: 1920

Occupations	*Male*	*Female*
Total, professional service	41,056	39,127
Actors and showmen	1,378	595
Architects	50	—
Artists, sculptors, and teachers of art	151	108
Authors, editors, and reporters	271	44
Chemists, assayers, and metallurgists	199	8
Clergymen	19,343	228
College presidents and professors	567	496
Dentists	1,074	35
Designers, draftsmen, and inventors	110	35
Lawyers, judges, and justices	946	4
Musicians and teachers of music	3,752	2,150
Osteopaths	51	164
Photographers	507	101
Physicians and surgeons	3,430	65
Teachers	6,319	29,244
Technical engineers	184	—
Trained nurses	142	3,199
Veterinary surgeons	145	—
Other professional pursuits	93	93
Semi-professional pursuits	1,565	1,323
Attendants and helpers (professional service)	779	1,235

The teachers, the largest professional group, compose almost fifty per cent of the total. In general, they are inadequately trained, poorly paid, and under the direction of white supervisors and administrators. They do not form a learned or self-directing body: they give a professional type of service but do not form a professional group. Almost without exception they serve in segregated schools where the possibility of advancement is small. Outside of these schools there is apparently no future for the Negro teachers, in part because of an opposition on the part of white parents to placing their children under Negro teachers and in part because their qualifications are rarely such as would enable them to secure such positions, in the absence of discrimination, in competition with white teachers.

The preachers compose about twenty-five per cent of the professional service groups. This is the only type of professional service in which the proportion is higher in the Negro than in the white population. The ministers as a whole are of limited education and there are no professional standards. Their service is confined to the racial group.

The little body of physicians and surgeons is the only Negro group maintaining professional standards at all comparable with those of white professional groups. The training, broadly speaking, is the same and individuals regardless of color must meet certain examination standards before being licensed. The profession has attracted many of the most capable men. The Negro dentists have a virtual monopoly of the business of the race and the profession includes many highly capable practitioners.

The number of men in other vocations implying professional training is small. The lawyers are perhaps better trained than any group other than the physicians but they are in a peculiarly difficult position because of the small amount of business they can successfully handle

and the number of men in the profession is relatively small. There are a few editors and newspaper men but they are for the most part untrained and with few exceptions have shown no particular ability. The number of men in other professions is increasing but the possibilities in most cases are rather narrowly limited: except in the few cases where they show real superiority or arouse the sentimental interest of the whites. They must depend for patronage upon their own race and the race is not at present in need of or in a position to support a greatly increased number of professionals.

THE ECONOMIC FUTURE OF THE NEGROES

The economic future of the race is at present uncertain and in certain respects the outlook is not bright. There has been of course a great advance but when measured by any external standards the rate has been slow and the progress uneven. The retardation is subject to explanation but the fact should be recognized as should the very real obstacles in the way of future advance. The degree of improvement in certain lines is rather definitely limited. In the South the Negroes apparently have an assured position in agriculture: they have there the greatest agricultural opportunity that exists anywhere in the world. At the same time they are barred from almost every avenue of social advancement. In the fields of domestic and personal service they have consistently lost ground. Opportunities in public service, except as laborers, are not numerous.

The present industrial position is the most disturbing feature of the situation. Their status is not fixed nor assured: whether they can gain and hold a position in the industrial world is still in doubt. Historically they have been displaced wherever they have come into competition with other groups. The immigrants have displaced

them in the menial employments as well as in the trades and industries except in the South where they have made a showing because of numbers, the absence of competition, and the local prejudice against foreigners. Their recent inclusion in numbers in Northern industry was the result of an absence of white labor. Their success in retaining the position gained, and improving their position will turn apparently upon factors over which they have no control, chiefly upon the federal immigration policy. If the supply of immigrant labor remains restricted during such time as is required for the Negroes to gain skill, experience, and discipline and for their use in certain capacities to harden into an industrial folkway, their position as an industrial proletariat is assured. But the renewal of a heavy immigration from a disciplined labor group would mean their prompt elimination from many of their present positions.

Negro business in the predictable future will continue to be restricted to such establishments as can exist by the patronage of the race. The same limitation, if it be a limitation, exists in the professional field: they cannot anticipate patronage from the whites.

Various efforts toward the development of a self-sufficient racial group are pointed out in the discussion of the growing nationalistic psychosis. The economic aspect of this movement involves the idea of developing business, industrial, and professional classes who will cater to the Negroes and have a monopoly of their buying power at the same time that they furnish employment to the members of the race: the group will be economically and culturally independent of the whites and produce everything from food and service to art and literature that it consumes. It is inevitable that this emotionally conditioned movement should continue and it may go far in spite of the fairly obvious economic fallacy that underlies the movement. The advantage that comes to individuals

from a segregated economy is obvious, and is obviously at the expense of the group that supports the economy. The general racial welfare requires that the individuals become an integral part of the national economy. If the service they are able to render is a superior article there is no occasion to fear open competition, and in any case competition cannot be avoided merely by a refusal to recognize its existence. To put competition on a group rather than on an individual basis does not erase the brute fact that in the end individuals and groups must find the occupations in which they can survive. There is no means by which they can escape being measured by the same standards as are applied to other citizens and the same conditions control their success as control that of other men. They will get out of their historic status, that of menials, by success in competition, not by segregation.

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CHAPTER XI

THE EDUCATION OF THE NEGRO

THE EDUCATIONAL EFFECTS OF RACE CONTACTS

The previous discussion has from various angles emphasized the fact that the simple conditions of life during the early decades of the Colonial period brought the slaves into frequent contact and close association with the white population. For the most part they proved to be tractable servants and docile laborers. They worked side by side with the white indentured servants whose status was not very different from their own and the two groups frequently associated on terms of essential equality. Their work and the conditions under which they lived often were not very unlike those of their masters. In the social situation they manifested a surprising ability to adapt themselves to the American environment and conditions of life. They speedily acquired some command of the language of their masters, took on the habits of the white people, and developed proficiency in the routine and mechanical tasks of their daily life.

In the Southern colonies the social and economic life assumed a feudal aspect. The personal relations of the plantation owners and their dependents were patriarchal in nature. In general, these plantation owners were the best educated men in Colonial America. Many of them had some knowledge of history, literature, law, and politics and maintained a cultural contact with European life. The Negro servants fortunate enough to be associated with these families assimilated many of the best elements

of the white social heritage. The plantation owners, in order to increase the economic efficiency of their slaves, had them instructed in the various trades essential to efficient plantation economy. In some cases the Negroes showed considerable mechanical ability and acquired a degree of skill. In the slave population of the larger establishments were tailors, carpenters, wheelwrights, shoemakers, tanners, smiths, weavers, and workmen skilled in various other lines. Even the routine work on the plantation taught punctuality, application, thoroughness, and other virtues essential to life in a civilized community. The household and personal servants were in a particularly happy position to acquire the social customs and personal habits of civilized life.

The greater part of Negro education throughout the slave régime was just this habituation to civilized, albeit rude and simple, standards. As a result of the slave status they incidentally but inevitably acquired the language, the religion, the family ideal, and other values of European culture.

THE EDUCATION OF NEGROES DURING THE COLONIAL PERIOD

Throughout the Colonial era there was little formal schooling of either white or Negro children. The idea of general education was not in the social heritage of the group, and school training was not necessary to success in the ordinary affairs of life. The little secular education provided was dominated by the idea of moral discipline. The interests of the time were religious rather than intellectual and the burden of instruction was in piety and the tenets of Christianity. Education was almost everywhere regarded as an affair of the church; the clergy were almost the only teachers. The subjects common to the present-day elementary school curriculum

were not taught. Such institutions of higher learning as existed in the colonies were for the purpose of training men for the ministry and for governmental service.

Since their contacts were in major part with the lowest elements of the white population, the slaves tended to take on the vices more rapidly than the virtues of the master race. The need of some instruction to counteract the moral tendencies was generally recognized. The ministers of the time assumed a common-sense attitude toward the moral failings of the Negroes, recognizing that their vices were due chiefly to the influence of contact with and the example of the vicious whites. They urged the masters to instruct the slaves in piety, to furnish them with Bibles, teach them to read, and to require their presence at the religious exercises of the family. Schoolmasters were urged to assist in the Sunday instruction of Negroes. It was considered a duty of the church to instruct the slave children. The early opposition to the conversion of Negroes to Christianity lapsed after the church and legislature decided that conversion did not imply manumission.

The attitude toward Negro education and the practice in regard to it varied with the religious beliefs of the people and with the occupational use of the servile population. In Puritan New England the town was a kind of religious republic in which the governing authorities performed both civic and religious duties. They believed in religious education and maintained schools at public expense. The form of slavery was mild—most of the Negroes were farm hands and house servants—and the slaves had some opportunity for mental and moral instruction. Since the religious and political organizations were so closely related and the whites were unwilling to admit the Negroes to the political organization though anxious to convert them, there grew up separate churches and schools for the two races. The Quakers offered the

same educational and religious opportunity to the Negroes as they provided for themselves. The Catholics admitted Negroes to their churches and Negro children to their parochial schools. In the Southern colonies there was no interest in general secular education. The plantation type of settlement, with its use of indentured servants and Negro slaves and consequent caste order of society, was against it. Private schools existed for the children of those able to pay and there were church and charity schools for the poor. The instruction in reading and writing given to the white and black apprentices was incidental to the teaching of religion and profitable forms of labor.

By the Revolutionary period a good deal of the early religious fervor and intolerance had abated. The religious and sectarian monopoly of education was about over and new secular interests were appearing. Opinion in regard to slavery was defined and definite attitudes concerning the education of the slaves had become established.

One body of opinion, held for the most part by Southern planters and those reflecting their interests, was to the effect that the Negro was an inferior order of man destined to serve the interests of the superior whites. The race was looked upon as a source of cheap unskilled labor and was to be kept from so changing its social status as to endanger the supremacy of the white race. The only education the Negroes needed was such as would enable them to do the work that the white man could not or would not do. They should be trained to do heavy manual labor and work in the less congenial trades without coming into competition with white men. A directly opposite opinion was taking form among ministers, philanthropists and other idealistically minded men who came little into personal contact with the Negroes. It opposed the apparent determination of the repressionists to keep the Negro inferior and argued for equality of race on religious and humanitarian grounds. There were various shades of

intermediate opinion which recognized the cultural inferiority of the Negroes but believed that they should, under tutelage of the white man, be given the opportunity to develop their native capacities.

The Revolutionary period was marked by the prevalence of humanitarian sentiments and the diffusion of liberal ideas and democratic sentiments. But during the War and the years following there was a general decline in the educational opportunities. In the South the tendency was to discard education as superfluous except for the few. The church and charity schools decreased in number and effectiveness.

NEGRO EDUCATION DURING THE PERIOD OF NATIONAL SLAVERY

There was little interest in the education of the people in the early decades of national history. Life was simple and very little formal education was required for the transaction of routine affairs; in the ordinary walks of life illiteracy was not a handicap. As the church interest in secular education declined there was a decrease in the school facilities and an increase in illiteracy. The idea of schools for all children supported by general taxation came slowly to acceptance.

In the North the Negro children had essentially the same educational opportunity as the white children. The development of schools for the Negroes parallels the development of those for white children, and was determined primarily by the attitude of the whites toward education in general and toward the Negroes in particular. In some cases the Negro children attended the white schools; in other cases they undertook the establishment of separate schools and received some part of the public funds provided for education. Connecticut adopted the plan of separate schools as early as 1830 and only a little later

separate schools were authorized in Illinois, Indiana, and Ohio. In general as the public school system developed, the Negro children attended the white schools in rural districts and elsewhere when the numbers were small; they were generally excluded from the schools for white children when they came to form any considerable percentage of the school population.

The Negroes took reasonable advantage of whatever educational provisions were made for them. The school attendance of the Negroes increased rapidly especially in the decades before the Civil War and the percentage of illiteracy declined. When separate schools were provided they were generally inferior to the schools for white children in both instruction and equipment but they were in both respects superior to the church and private schools.

The trend of events was very different in the South. In the later part of the eighteenth and early part of the nineteenth centuries the agricultural conditions in the South underwent a rapid transformation. The inventions of Hargreaves, Arkwright, Crompton, Cartwright, and Whitney revolutionized the cotton industry and, by creating a great demand for that staple, led to the extension of the plantation system and prevented the development of mixed farming. Slavery became economically profitable and the plantation type of the institution, previously limited in the main to Georgia and Carolina, was extended throughout the cotton areas of the Lower South.

In the plantation system the education of the slave was unnecessary and had some positive disadvantages. There was a growing fear of slave insurrections. Some news of the San Domingo revolt reached the Negroes and created restlessness in certain areas. The agitation carried on by the abolitionists roused discontent among the literate slaves. The Southern whites suspected the free Negroes and literate slaves of spreading discontent in the slave population. The fears of the whites were

further stirred by several attempted Negro insurrections. It became increasingly clear that if the institution was to be preserved and the dangers of insurrection avoided the general slave population would have to be kept in ignorance and isolation. The slave-owning interests came more and more to an active opposition to Negro education and in response to this sentiment the Southern legislatures enacted laws prohibiting the literary education of slaves and restricting the mobility of free Negroes. In some cases even the religious instruction of Negroes was prohibited. The clergy, responsive to the dominant interests of their wealthy parishioners, discontinued their efforts to teach the Negroes to read and write.

But opposition to the instruction of Negroes was never unanimous. In spite of legislative prohibition, many masters continued to give favorite slaves the rudiments of an education as well as to instruct the Negroes when education was needed for the tasks to be performed. In the District of Columbia some small schools, partly supported by the free Negroes, were kept open. In Maryland the Catholic Church conducted parochial schools from which the Negroes were not excluded. In Baltimore there were some educational facilities provided for the free Negro children and the same was true in New Orleans where there was a considerable population of free mulattoes. The teaching of free Negroes was never prohibited in some of the Southern states, notably Texas, Tennessee, Kentucky, Florida, and Maryland. But in spite of exceptions, the education of the Negro in the South was always small and in the ante-bellum period it was almost zero.

BEGINNINGS OF NEGRO EDUCATION DURING THE CIVIL WAR PERIOD

The first real educational opportunities open to the mass of the Negro population had their beginnings at the time

of the Civil War and developed out of conditions that had to be faced during and following the period of civil strife.

Almost as soon as the Union forces advanced into Southern territory fugitive slaves, for the most part plantation hands and rough laborers, began to arrive within the Union lines. As the war progressed there were large numbers of destitute Negroes concentrated near the principal fortifications. Many of them were employed in various sorts of rough camp work and ultimately the physically fit were mustered into the Army. But there was a very large number of destitute men, women, and children who could not be employed and had to be supplied with the necessities of life and for many of these some permanent provisions had to be made.

The various army officers, under whose protection these fugitives had placed themselves, made repeated appeals to Northern charity. The response was always generous and in many communities Freedman's Aid Societies were formed. These organizations undertook to relieve the temporary physical wants of the refugees and to provide secular and religious instruction. The principal aim of the Societies presently came to be the education of the former slaves. They established primary schools, provided teachers, and systematized instruction. Many plantations were abandoned by the owners or seized by the invading forces and the slave population disorganized and bewildered. Supervisors were placed in charge of many of these plantations and efforts made to restore order; in many cases schools were established as an incidental part of the program. Schools, frequently under the direction of army officers and chaplains, sprang up about the fortified places where large numbers of fugitive slaves were found. The Aid Societies, particularly the New England Society and the American Missionary Association, were the main educational and relief agencies in the

first years of the War. Their work was marred by endless petty jealousies and struggles for personal glory. Even their federation in 1863 did not result in harmonious relations.

NEGRO EDUCATION DURING THE PERIOD OF RECONSTRUCTION

The relief work and incidentally the education of the freedmen was systematized by the creation of the Freedman's Bureau in the War Department. The Bureau, established by Congressional act in 1865, exercised almost unlimited power and assumed the general guardianship of the Negroes.

This Bureau was instrumental in founding the Negro public school system of the South. When it entered upon the work there were a few tax-supported schools, a few schools maintained by the free Negroes. and a somewhat larger number supported and directed by Northern Aid Societies. The Bureau immediately assumed the supervision of all schools and opened numerous others in unused government buildings. The Bureau supplemented its appropriation from the United States by the sale or lease of property formerly held by the states of the South and by the use of funds from the philanthropic societies.

No race distinctions were recognized in the schools established; they were free to all who cared to attend them. If the whites desired instruction they had to take it with the blacks. The result was that, with few exceptions, the pupils were all Negro children: of the 111,000 school children under the Bureau in 1867, the whites numbered 1,348 and the Negroes 109,652.

On the part of the white South there was a general and bitter opposition to the education of the Negroes and this was increased by the high-handed methods of the Bureau. White teachers who undertook the work were

ostracised and sometimes manhandled. The Negroes were largely indifferent to the efforts being made for their education. Only a small percentage of the Negro children of school age were under instruction and the number increased slowly. Only one-tenth of the children of the freedmen were attending school in 1869. The progress of Negro education during this period is shown in the following table.

PROGRESS OF NEGRO EDUCATION IN THE SOUTH: 1860-1870

Date	*Schools*	*Teachers*	*Scholars*
1866 (Jan. 1)	740	1,314	90,589
1866 (July 1)	975	1,045	90,778
1867	1,839	2,087	111,442
1868	1,831	2,295	104,327
1869	2,118	2,455	114,522
1870	2,677	3,300	149,581

In the early years the teachers were nearly all white persons from the North. But it very soon came to be the practice to use Negro students to teach the more elementary students. In 1869 about one-half of the teachers employed by the Bureau were Negroes. When the Bureau went out of existence the work of Negro education passed into the control of the philanthropic and denominational societies which had coöperated with it.

The whole history of this Bureau was characterized by harshness and gross military stupidity. But it was instrumental in organizing a school system where none had been before. Perhaps the most important single act of the Bureau was the establishment in 1867 of Howard University at Washington, D. C.

THE RISE OF DENOMINATIONAL SCHOOLS

During the War period the various organizations engaged in relief and educational work among the freedmen

were liberally supported. Humanitarian sentiment and emotional enthusiasm ran high. Various denominational groups coöperated in the work. The American Missionary Association was supported by various denominations and confined its work to education along undenominational lines. In 1867 it had 528 missionaries and teachers in the South and its income in cash and clothing for the year was close to one-half million dollars. After the war many of the coöperating societies withdrew their support. The enthusiasm for the work of relief and education rapidly subsided, money donations declined, and many societies discontinued their work for lack of funds. By 1870 most of the workers had been withdrawn from the field. The New England Society continued its work until 1874 though it had only two teachers and a total income of $12,700 for the last two years. The period of coöperation for the uplift of the freedmen was at an end; the period of denominational competition was beginning.

The various churches of the North were interested in building up and extending their denominations among the Negroes. Pious persons who had become indifferent to Negro education and deaf to appeals to support undenominational work for Negro education and welfare, responded willingly and liberally when appeal was made for funds to proselyte the freedmen and propagate sectarian doctrines among them. These religious organizations carried on some relief work but this was always subordinated to the educational and sectarian propaganda. They devoted their energies chiefly to religious instruction and to training their promising converts for the ministry. The denominations, particularly the Baptists, Methodists, and Presbyterians, that had previously established churches among the Negroes, took measures to extend their influence by establishing special schools to train Negro teachers and preachers. In 1865 the

Methodist Episcopal Church established Walden at Nashville; two years later it established Morgan at Baltimore; in 1870 it established Clark at Atlanta; and in later years several other institutions. The Baptists founded Shaw University at Raleigh in 1865; Roger Williams at Nashville in 1867; Leland at New Orleans in 1869; and several other institutions in later years. The Presbyterians had founded Lincoln University before the war. St. Augustine at Raleigh was founded by the Episcopal church in 1867. Church schools were also founded by the Unitarians, Reformed Presbyterians, Southern Methodist Episcopalians, and other religious and sectarian groups. The Negro denominations were also active. The African Methodist Church founded Western College at Kansas City in 1864, having previously established Wilberforce in Ohio. In later years this organization established Allen University at Columbia, South Carolina and similar schools at Atlanta, Georgia, Waco, Texas, Jackson, Mississippi, Selma, Alabama and elsewhere. The Zion Methodist Church, the Colored Baptists, and other Negro denominations also established church schools.

The social and economic disorganization resulting from the War and the Emancipation was conducive to a state of mind peculiarly receptive to religious doctrines and religious sects multiplied with great rapidity. But in spite of the religious and sectarian activity, the period was not wholly barren of educational beginnings. Some organizations devoted their energies to building schools for training Negro teachers on whom ultimately would rest the responsibility for instructing the race in the rudimentary branches of knowledge. The American Missionary Association was responsible for building more teacher training schools than any other organization of the period.

The high-sounding names given the schools expressed the hopes and aspirations of enthusiastic founders. But

they also had a practical value: people would contribute to the maintenance of a college or university who would not contribute to the support of an elementary school. In reality the schools were neither colleges nor universities: they were primary schools with some teacher training when conditions were favorable. They depended on charity for support and led an uncertain and precarious existence.

The work of even the best schools conducted along sectarian and classical lines was barren of results: they contributed practically nothing to the real education of the Negroes nor to the improvement of the social and economic conditions of the race. The whole movement, particularly the bringing of Northern Negro churches into the South, widened the breach between the races, intensified race hatred, and increased the social and cultural isolation of the Negroes.

THE RISE OF THE INDUSTRIAL EDUCATION IDEA

The early Negro schools embraced the traditions of the classical studies. This pseudo-education, except in the more culturally backward regions, was on the decline when the Negroes came within the educational orbit. But it was the only education in the South. It was a sign of leisure and a mark of the gentleman. The régime of slavery had engendered in the Negroes a sentiment against education of a practical nature; superiority they associated with a classical and literary training. The idea of industrial education made no appeal, they wanted the education of the gentleman. In the situation they eagerly embraced a discredited type of semi-intellectual activity which has continued to handicap the educational progress to the present time.

A fairly obvious need of the freedmen was an education that would stress practical knowledge and lead to the

formation of habits of persistent application to productive work. It appeared evident to many people, thoughtful Negroes as well as white friends of the race, that there should be a close relation between the occupation and the education given in the schools. Many thoughtful persons came to regard industrial education as possibly the only means of uplifting the race. The agitation for an industrial education grew stronger as the workers among the Negroes were confronted with the problem of making them self-supporting and capable of intelligent participation in the civic affairs of their community.

The majority of the Southern whites were apathetic and generally opposed or indifferent to any kind of education for the Negroes. The initiative came primarily from Northern sources. A successful beginning was made in 1868 when the American Missionary Association founded the Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute. Two years later the Institute received a charter from the Virginia Legislature and became an independent institution. Its purpose was to furnish practical training in agriculture and in the industrial occupations, and to train teachers for Negro schools. In 1875 the Institute was allowed one-third of the federal land grant, the sale of which gave a small but permanent supporting fund. At the present time the Institute owns 188 acres of ground, a stock farm, and has some sixty buildings housing the various departments. It now has an endowment of $4,881,096.76 and an income of $442,144.36.

The movement grew slowly and several other institutions were founded for the industrial education of the Negroes, the most noteworthy of which was the Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute. It was this school, under the leadership of Booker T. Washington, the ablest politician the race has so far produced, that won a large percentage of the Negroes as well as of the whites to the support of schools for the vocational and industrial train-

ing of the Negroes. The school opened in 1881 on a legislative appropriation of $2,000 annually for instructional salaries. But Washington made the idea popular and got the support of private philanthropists, and gifts from various sources raised the endowment to $2,709,110; the income for the year 1923 was $575,412. It has grown to over 100 buildings and owns a large body of land. In 1923 it had a faculty of 238 and a student enrollment of 1,636. Industrial training is one of the principal features of the school. Training is offered in all lines from the simplest trades to electrical engineering. Industrial training of women along the lines of their customary life activities is given. The Institute carries on considerable extension work in the field of agriculture.

These industrial schools have had a marked effect through the students that they have trained and turned back into the communities to become leaders in various occupations. They have done a great deal for the Negro in the South by teaching the common duties of life and inculcating habits of persistent application. They have given the Negro a hope and an outlook for a brighter future. In spite of the fact that a considerable part of the support of these schools has come from the North, they have kept in close and friendly touch with the South and its public school system and have exercised a marked influence on it.

The industrial education of the Negro received little public support prior to 1890. The Merrill Land-Grant Act of 1862 provided means for the establishment of Agricultural and Mechanical colleges for the white population in the several states and territories but made no provision for the industrial education of the Negro. Some of the states, however, diverted a part of the funds to Negro education: in Virginia a third of the grant was given to Hampton Institute; in South Carolina a part of the grant went to Claflin; in Missouri, Alcorn was opened

and presently became a Negro school. In 1890 the amended Merrill Act increased the federal appropriation and provided that a certain proportion should be used for the benefit of the colored people. The act specified that none of the fund should be used for building purposes; the realization of the plan obligated the states to make additional appropriations for buildings, equipment, and administration. The funds were to be used for salaries in teaching agriculture and mechanic arts; the state had to provide funds for buildings, administration, and general education.

The result of the amended act was the establishment of separate agricultural and mechanical schools for colored people in the Southern States. By 1893 there were 14 such schools in the South receiving federal aid. By 1914 there were 17 land-grant schools. In many cases the state aid to these schools has been so meager as to hamper the proper use of the federal appropriations. The administration of most of the institutions has been in the hands of colored presidents and boards of white trustees with uncertain interest in the education of the Negroes. The industrial work is also hampered by the fact that it is necessary to maintain an elementary grade school. The schools are generally poor. Most of them are equipped to teach carpentry, blacksmithing, brick masonry and to train girls in the household arts, but few of them teach trades effectively. The time allowed for industrial courses is very limited and the projects undertaken are in the nature of manual training. About one-third of the private schools for the Negro offer industrial courses but much of the work is inefficient.

THE NEGRO PUBLIC SCHOOL SYSTEM

The public school system of the South is of comparatively recent development. Except in a few cities there

were practically no schools for either white or colored children maintained at public expense prior to 1868. The traditional attitude was one of opposition to education at public expense, and the education of the Negroes was generally thought to be useless if indeed not positively dangerous to society.

The opposition to Negro education was intensified by the course of political events following the freeing of the slaves. The desire was general in the white South to restrict the personal liberties of the Negroes so as to place them in a separate class. The military occupation of the South and Reconstruction régime, which was in part an effort to prevent this thwarting of the will of the victorious section, intensified the general bitterness and led to a stubborn opposition to many measures that would have met approval had they originated in a different source. The new constitutions made provision for a state system of schools. The financial burden was considerable, the public debt being heavy and the masses in poverty. The irritation was aggravated by the fact that the Negroes were the chief beneficiaries. The whites were bitterly opposed to the mixed schools, and little educational progress was made in the period prior to 1876.

There was a period of reaction as soon as Congress declared the reconstructed sections restored to regular relations with the United States government and withdrew the military forces. The new state governments began to restrict the political power of the blacks and to repeal laws passed during the Reconstruction period. The Negroes were removed from the white schools and separate schools were provided for them. As soon as the double system was established the schools for colored children passed into the hands of incompetent Negro teachers. The funds from local and state taxation were insufficient to maintain adequate school systems for both races and the expenditure for Negro education was reduced to the

minimum. This was in harmony with the determination to keep the Negro "in his place." For twenty years the outlook for any real public education for the Negro was not promising.

At the present time there is gross inequality in the provisions for the education of the children of the two races.

In practically all the Southern states the state school funds are distributed among the counties on the basis of total population. The apportionment, between the schools for Negro and white children, of these funds as well as of those raised by local taxation is made by the County Boards of Education. The amount that goes for the education of colored children is almost entirely dependent upon the racial sentiment of these white boards. That the sentiment is not everywhere favorable to equal educational opportunity may be seen in the following table of the annual expenditure by races for public school purposes in the different states.

DISTRIBUTION OF SCHOOL FUNDS BY RACES: 1923-1924

States	*Per Cent of Population*		*Expenditures*	
	White	*Negro*	*White*	*Negro*
Alabama	61.6	38.4	91.0	9.0
Arkansas	73.0	27.0	83.0	17.0
Delaware	86.4	13.6	86.0	14.0
District of Columbia	74.7	25.2	74.0	26.0
Florida	65.9	34.1	92.0	8.0
Georgia	58.3	41.7	86.0	14.0
Kentucky	90.2	9.8	92.0	8.0
Louisiana	61.1	38.9	90.0	10.0
Maryland	83.1	16.9	90.0	10.0
Mississippi	47.7	52.3	80.0	20.0
Missouri	94.7	5.3	97.0	3.0
North Carolina	69.7	29.8	88.0	12.0
Oklahoma	89.8	7.4	95.0	5.0
South Carolina	48.6	51.4	89.0	11.0
Tennessee	80.7	19.3	88.0	12.0
Texas	84.1	15.9	88.0	12.0
Virginia	70.1	29.9	89.0	11.0
West Virginia	94.1	5.9	95.0	5.0

The actual per capita expenditures for white and Negro children also reveal something of the inequality in the educational opportunities open to white and colored children. For the fifteen Southern states and the District of Columbia, on a per capita basis, the white child receives $10.32 and the Negro child $2.89. The expenditures per child for white and colored children in these states in 1923 and 1924 was as follows:

PER CAPITA EXPENDITURE FOR THE EDUCATION OF NEGRO AND WHITE CHILDREN: 1923-1924

State	*White Child*	*Colored Child*
Alabama	$26.57	$ 3.81
Arkansas	13.36	6.48
Delaware	60.00	52.90
District of Columbia	76.00	64.40
Florida	41.01	7.33
Georgia	25.84	5.78
Kentucky	16.60	15.40
Louisiana	33.73	5.48
Maryland	34.70	17.17
Mississippi	25.95	5.62
Missouri	45.32	29.59
North Carolina	25.31	7.52
Oklahoma	33.08	21.04
South Carolina	27.88	2.74
Tennessee	21.02	11.88
Texas	31.77	20.24
Virginia	40.27	10.47
West Virginia	36.36	32.15

The table shows clearly that in most of these states the educational opportunities for the Negro and white children are far from equal. The same fact is emphasized in the following tabulation of the amounts invested in school property for the two races.

Another indication of the racial inequality in school opportunity appears in the expenditures for instruction. In 1916 the Bureau of Education found the appropriation for white teachers' salaries to be about four times

AVERAGE VALUE OF PUBLIC SCHOOL PROPERTY PER CHILD OF SCHOOL AGE

State	*Whites*	*Negroes*
District of Columbia	$147.00	$127.00
Missouri	109.46	104.33
Delaware	93.90	78.00
West Virginia	67.59	59.00
Oklahoma	70.53	30.00
Kentucky	35.00	29.00
Maryland	59.30	25.00
Texas	79.88	23.20
Virginia	73.83	23.10
Tennessee	35.53	19.00
North Carolina	52.08	12.90
Florida	78.22	12.80
Arkansas	32.23	9.00
Alabama	40.92	8.70
Louisiana	74.24	8.20
Georgia	48.02	7.00
Mississippi	32.57	6.00
South Carolina	60.12	5.90

that for Negro teachers compared on the basis of the number of children. The figures are as follows:

ANNUAL APPROPRIATION FOR TEACHERS' SALARIES PER CAPITA FOR WHITE AND NEGRO CHILDREN

States	*White*	*Negro*
Alabama	9.41	1.78
Arkansas	12.95	4.59
Delaware	12.61	7.68
Florida	11.50	2.64
Georgia	9.58	1.76
Kentucky	8.13	8.53
Louisiana	13.73	1.31
Maryland	13.59	6.38
Mississippi	10.60	2.26
North Carolina	5.27	2.02
Oklahoma	14.21	9.96
South Carolina	10.00	1.44
Tennessee	8.27	4.83
Texas	10.08	5.74
Virginia	9.64	2.74

In the country districts the school facilities for Negro children are particularly inadequate. The schoolhouses

are commonly one-room buildings and they are frequently in an extremely dilapidated condition. In many instances school buildings are not provided from the public funds; only the teachers' salaries are derived from that source. In South Carolina there are 2,354 public schools for colored children but only 1,442 public school buildings.

In these rural schools there is practically no class-room equipment. In some of the states, as Virginia, all maps, charts, globes, and like equipment must be furnished by the teachers. In the states of the Lower South the physical equipment of the Negro schools is not so good as in Virginia and South Carolina.

In addition to poor physical plant and equipment the schools are commonly over-crowded. The city schools, while generally superior to those in rural districts in buildings and equipment, are more over-crowded. A study of three typical counties in Alabama by the State Supervisor of Schools showed the seating capacity of 80 schools to be 3,794, the enrollment to be 6,391, and the attendance to be 5,832. In many places the Negro children must attend part time schools because of the congestion. The number of pupils per teacher shows the inadequacy of the facilities as well as the racial difference in educational opportunity. In 16 Southern states the 8,150,448 white pupils had 174,980 teachers—one teacher for each 36 pupils; the 2,977,536 Negro pupils had 36,920 teachers—one teacher for each 56 pupils.

Not only are the schools inadequate to accommodate the enrollment, and poorly equipped; the teaching staff is underpaid and the teachers untrained. In 1916 the average annual salary in the public schools ranged from $110.54 in South Carolina to $310.05 in Kentucky. As a result of the salary scale the most untrained persons are drawn into the teaching group. About seventy per cent of the teachers in the black belt have less than a sixth grade education.

The various philanthropic agencies have, of course, made large contributions in support of Negro education. The general Education Board pays the salaries of state agents for Negro schools, assists counties in the employment of supervising industrial teachers, assists the county training schools for rural teachers, aids selected Negro schools in their building programs, and aids Negro medical education. The Jeans Fund pays salaries of supervising industrial teachers for Negro rural schools. The Phelps-Stokes Fund gives aid to Negro Universities and promotes research work. The Carnegie Corporation has donated considerable amounts for the erection of public libraries for Negroes as well as for Negro public schools: both Tuskegee and Hampton have received gifts from this source. The John F. Slater Fund is used in aiding Negro schools to maintain normal training and industrial departments. The Daniel Hand Fund and the Peabody Educational Fund have also contributed toward Negro education. The Julius Rosenwald Fund is aiding in the construction of Negro rural school buildings.

The activity of these organizations has done much for the public education of the race. But no matter how they are expended, funds from private and philanthropic sources can only supplement public education. The publicly supported schools are and will continue to be the basis of Negro education: 93 per cent of the children attending elementary schools are in the publicly supported schools.

The facilities for the secondary education of Negro children are inadequate and the number of students small. In the Northern and Western states the two races attend the same schools and have equal opportunities. There are also a good many separate schools in particular communities. But most of the race live in the South and attend

separate schools. In 1921-1922 there were 179 public high schools for Negro children. This number included both the junior and the senior high schools. There were 1,101 teachers in these schools. The total enrollment was 42,650. Of this total 16,171 were boys and 26,479 were girls. Of the total number, 11,401 boys and 19,361 girls were enrolled in regular high schools.

Of the states maintaining a dual set of schools, the facilities for the secondary education of Negro children are poorest in the states with the largest percentage of Negroes in the population. In 1922 Alabama had four public high schools for Negro children with an attendance of 1,214 pupils, South Carolina had 6 with a total attendance of 491 pupils, Texas had 40, Kentucky 20, and Missouri 10.

The public high schools for Negroes are supplemented by a considerable private provision for secondary instruction. In 1923 there were 106 private high schools for Negroes in the 15 Southern states. These schools enrolled 24,777 students of whom 9,225 were of secondary standing. They reported property in buildings and grounds worth $8,288,000, equipment worth $855,700, and permanent endowment amounting to $1,302,000. The majority of the so-called Negro colleges and Universities are of course secondary, when they are not primary, schools.

The quality of the work in both public and private schools is far below that of the white schools. They are poorly equipped and the instruction is of inferior quality. The chief aim of these so-called colleges is to prepare teachers for the elementary schools but they are ill-adapted for this task. How far they fall short of the need is indicated by the fact that at the present time about fifty per cent of the teachers in the schools for colored children have less than a sixth grade education.

THE COMPARATIVE ILLITERACY OF THE NEGRO ELEMENT OF THE POPULATION

After the above review of the history of Negro schooling and the facilities for the education of Negro children, it is not surprising that the percentage of illiteracy is high; rather, the surprising thing is to find the percentage reported so low.

The percentage of illiterates in the different enumeration classes in the population is shown in the following table for each of the last three enumerations. Illiteracy is defined by the Census Bureau as the inability to write in any language, regardless of the ability to read.

PER CENT OF ILLITERATES IN THE POPULATION: 1900-1910-1920

Classes of the Population	*1900*	*1910*	*1920*
All classes	10.7	7.7	6.0
White	6.2	5.0	4.0
Negro	44.5	30.4	22.9
Native white	4.6	3.0	2.0
White of native parentage	5.7	3.7	2.5
White of foreign or mixed parentage	1.6	1.1	0.8
Foreign-born white	12.9	12.7	13.1

The figures show the percentage of illiteracy of the Negroes to be higher than that in any other population group at each enumeration. They also show a rapid decline in all classes of the population with the exception of the foreign born. In this decline the Negroes have shared, though the decline was more rapid in the earlier than in the later decades. In 1880 seventy per cent of the Negroes were reported illiterate. In the successive enumerations the corresponding percentages were 57.1, 44.5, 30.4, 22.9. In the future decades the decline will doubtless go on but at a retarded rate inasmuch as the increase in school facilities does not affect in any appreciable

degree the illiteracy of the adult population. The rate will decline as the group loses by death its older and more illiterate numbers. There are of course some Negroes who learn to read and write when beyond the school age, as is shown by the decline in the illiteracy of the same group from one enumeration to the next. The following table brings out this fact in a striking way: the numbers decline as the age group advances due to mortality during the decade, but the percentage of illiterates also declines. Since there is no reason to assume that the death rate is appreciably higher in the illiterate than in the literate group, the decline must be due to cultural change.

NEGRO ILLITERATES BY AGE GROUPS

Year of Enumeration	*Age in Years*	*Number Illiterate*	*Per Cent Illiterate*
1900	15–24	652,610	33.4
1910	25–34	380,742	24.6
1920	35–44	310,538	23.3
1910	15–24	460,720	22.0
1920	25–34	287,063	17.9

But the increase in school facilities reaches a comparatively small number of the adult population. The decline in illiteracy is chiefly in the younger age groups of the population. The table on page 279 shows the relative literacy of the younger and older age groups as well as the relative increase in literacy from one decade to the next.

The geographic factor stands out prominently in the figures of Negro literacy. It varies from state to state, the amount of illiteracy being inversely proportional to the amount spent per capita for Negro education. In the South it is high; in the North and West it is comparatively low. In Louisiana where the average annual expenditure for the education of the Negro child of school

NEGRO ILLITERACY BY AGE PERIOD AND CENSUS YEAR

Age Period	*Per Cent Illiterate*		
	1900	*1910*	*1920*
10 years and over.....	44.5	30.4	22.9
10 to 14 years.....	30.1	18.9	11.4
15 to 19 years.....	31.8	20.3	14.1
20 to 24 years.....	35.1	23.9	17.0
25 to 34 years.....	39.3	24.6	17.9
35 to 44 years.....	52.0	32.3	23.3
45 to 54 years.....	68.1	47.0	34.1
55 to 64 years.....	78.4	63.0	49.4
65 years and over.....	85.4	74.5	68.3

age was $3.49, the percentage of illiteracy in 1920 was 38.5 per cent. In Alabama, with an expenditure of $3.00, the per cent of illiteracy was 31.3. South Carolina, with an expenditure per Negro child of $2.06, has an illiteracy rate of 29.3 per cent. In West Virginia the expenditure per Negro child of school age was $14.47 and the illiteracy was 15.3. In the District of Columbia $62.75 was spent for each Negro child and the illiteracy was 8.6 per cent. In the Northern states where the Negro children have essentially the same educational opportunities as the white children their rate of illiteracy was comparatively low: in New York it was 2.9 per cent, in Illinois 6.7 per cent. The following table, which allows comparison of the Negro and white illiteracy by states, seems to bear out the generalization that literacy varies directly with educational opportunity and quite independently of race. In thirty states the Negro rate of illiteracy is lower than that of the foreign born white, and the Negro rate in some states is lower than that of the native whites in other states. The illiteracy of the native white population of Alabama and Louisiana, for example, is greater than the Negro rate in over thirty states, while the Negro illiteracy rate in New York is lower than that of the native whites in any of the Southern states.

PER CENT OF NEGRO AND WHITE POPULATION ILLITERATE. SELECTED STATES: 1920

State	*Negro*	*Native White*	*Foreign-born White*
Alabama	31.3	6.4	10.9
Arizona	4.6	1.3	27.5
California	4.7	0.4	10.5
Colorado	6.2	1.7	12.4
Georgia	29.1	5.5	5.4
Illinois	6.7	1.1	11.0
Kansas	8.8	0.6	10.5
Kentucky	21.0	7.3	7.3
Louisiana	38.5	11.4	21.9
Maryland	18.2	2.0	13.4
Massachusetts	6.8	0.3	12.8
Michigan	4.2	0.6	9.9
Mississippi	29.3	3.6	13.3
New York	2.9	0.6	14.2
Oklahoma	12.4	2.4	14.0
South Carolina	29.3	6.6	6.2
Texas	17.8	2.2	33.8
Virginia	23.5	6.1	7.1

Among the Negroes, as among the whites, the proportion of illiterates is smaller in the urban than in the rural districts. In 1920 the percentage of illiteracy was 13.4 for the urban and 28.5 for the rural population ten years of age and over. The percentage of urban Negro illiteracy of the three Southern divisions was 17.2 for the South Atlantic, 20.6 for the East South Central and 16.1 in the West South Central; while the corresponding figures for the rural Negroes were 28.6, 30.3, and 29.0 respectively. In other sections of the country the Negro urban illiteracy ranges from 4.1 per cent in the Pacific to 8.6 per cent in the West North Central, that of the rural population from 5.8 per cent in the Mountain to 16.9 per cent in the West North Central region. In the decade 1910-1920, the illiteracy of the rural Negroes of the South decreased more rapidly than that of the urban Negroes, due chiefly to improvement of rural schools, the establishment of rural school supervision, and the extension work of Hampton, Tuskegee and other similar

schools. In general the percentage of illiteracy is less in the large cities with a large Negro population than in the urban population of the state in which the city is located. This is due in chief part to better schools: the educational facilities in the smaller towns often are not superior to those in the rural districts. In Atlanta, Georgia, 17.8 per cent of the Negroes were reported illiterate in 1920, while in the urban Negro population of Georgia as a whole the per cent was 21.2; in New Orleans it was 15.7 while for the urban population of Louisiana it was 22.1; and in Birmingham it was 18.4 while for the urban population of the state it was 22.7. Similar differences appear elsewhere. The percentage of illiteracy in the mulatto element is markedly lower than that in the racially unmixed part of the Negro population.

THE SCHOOL ATTENDANCE OF NEGRO CHILDREN

At the time of the last census enumeration there were 3,796,957 Negro children between 5 and 20 years of age in continental United States. Of this number 2,030,269 or 53.5 per cent were attending school. This was a somewhat lower per cent than that of other groups in the population with the exception of the foreign born. Comparable data for the different groups in the population appear in the accompanying table.

PER CENT OF CHILDREN 5 TO 20 YEARS OF AGE ATTENDING SCHOOL IN THE UNITED STATES: 1920

Population Class	*Per Cent Attending School*		
	Male	*Female*	*Total*
All classes	64.1	64.5	64.3
Native white of native parentage	66.6	67.3	66.9
Native white of foreign or mixed parentage	66.0	65.7	65.8
Negro	52.4	54.5	53.5
Foreign-born white	45.8	42.7	44.2

The attendance of Negro children at school is lowest in the Southern divisions and particularly in those states with a very large Negro population. Of the Negro children between the ages of seven and thirteen years Louisiana had 61.0 per cent attending school, Alabama 69.2, Arkansas 69.9, Georgia 70.2, Tennessee 71.1, Mississippi 71.5, and Florida 73.1.

In the decade ending in 1920 there was some very slight gain in school attendance. If we omit the increased enrollment accounted for by the increase in the number of children, the total net increase was 262,226. That is to say, that while in 1910 there were 12,139,120 persons 5 to 20 years of age who did not attend school, in 1920 the number had fallen to 11,876,894. In terms of attendance rate, 59.2 per cent of the total population of school age attended school in 1910 while in 1920 the corresponding rate was 64.3. In the decade the Negroes made greater progress in attendance than did any other group in the population, increasing from 44.7 per cent attending school in 1910 to 53.5 per cent attending school in 1920—an increase of 8.8 per cent. The greatest gains in this respect were made in the sections and states of the South where the per cent of attendance is still lowest.

School Attendance of Children 7 to 13 Years of Age in Selected States in 1910 and 1920

States	*Per Cent Attending*	
	1910	*1920*
Massachusetts	95.8	95.9
New York	91.3	93.1
Ohio	91.8	95.8
Illinois	87.3	93.7
Virginia	64.2	78.1
South Carolina	60.4	82.3
Georgia	60.3	70.2
Alabama	53.4	69.2
Louisiana	40.7	61.0

The relative attendance and gain in attendance is seen by the comparison of attendance for the two enumerations in selected Northern and Southern states with large Negro populations.

The low attendance of the South is at least in part due to the non-enforcement of the compulsory attendance laws in these regions. The degree of enforcement is indicated by the attendance at 11 years of age since at this age all the states require that all children, unless excused for specific reason, go to school. The Negro attendance for the states of the South was as follows:

School Attendance of 11-Year-Old Negro Children

States	*Per Cent Attendance*
District of Columbia	95.8
Delaware	95.5
West Virginia	92.8
Kentucky	91.0
Texas	90.6
Maryland	89.0
North Carolina	87.3
South Carolina	87.2
Virginia	84.7
Oklahoma	82.3
Florida	78.4
Mississippi	77.2
Alabama	76.8
Tennessee	76.1
Georgia	74.6
Arkansas	74.4
Louisiana	68.3

It should also be noted in the present connection that the length of school terms is shorter in the Southern than in the Northern states. In the North the school year is seldom less than 170 days. But in the South the school year even for the white children is below the minimum in the North. The length of school year in days for Negroes and white children in certain Southern states is as follows:

LENGTH OF THE SCHOOL YEAR IN DAYS: SELECTED SOUTHERN STATES

State	*White*	*Negro*
Alabama	132	102
Florida	142	102
Georgia	157	100
Kentucky	152	119
Louisiana	156	94
South Carolina	156	78

According to the Report of the Commissioner of Education the average school term for Negroes is 69 per cent of the average for the country. It has been calculated that on the basis of a standard school year of 180 days, with the existing provision for education, it would require a Negro child in Louisiana 22 years, a Negro child in Alabama 26 years, and a Negro child in South Carolina 33 years, to complete an elementary school course.

Throughout the United States a little over one per cent of the Negro children of school age are in high schools; the per cent for the white children of school age is 9.3.

In all sections of the country and in all age groups the proportion in school is higher for mulattoes than for the black Negroes. It seems to be a fact, however, that in the sections where opportunities are equal for all classes of the population that the difference between blacks and mulattoes diminishes.

THE HIGHER EDUCATION OF NEGROES

Following the Civil War a number of colleges and universities for Negroes were founded in Southern towns and cities. There was a desire on the part of the religious denominations to spread their sectarian teachings among the freedmen. The type of education offered by these schools was often so ill-adapted to the needs of the situation as to bring the whole idea of higher education of

the Negro into disrepute and the educated Negro became an object of popular ridicule. As the enthusiasm of the anti-slavery period declined many of the colleges were left as completely without funds as, in the absence of lower schools, they were without college students. Some of them were discontinued and others became elementary or secondary schools, often, however, without change of name.

At the present time there are some sixty-eight institutions for Negroes bearing the name of college or university. With the exception of four, they are controlled by religious denominations. At least sixteen of these schools offer no college courses. In the remaining fifty-two institutions only a part, usually a minor part, of the courses are of college rank; the major part of the work is of an elementary and secondary character. Of the 28,556 students enrolled in these schools in 1924, those taking college courses numbered 4,942; the remaining 23,614 were elementary or high school pupils. Only two of the Negro universities offer work of a grade that admits them to the Association of American Colleges. None of them offer or are prepared to do university work. The entire instructional staff of these 68 institutions numbered 1,752 and the total income of the schools was $3,363,202.

Many of these Negro colleges and normal schools are presided over by white presidents and many members of the instructional staff are white men. In the earlier decades all of the professors were white. But year by year they become fewer in number as the racial separation increases and as competent Negro men and women can be found for the positions. In fact the change has gone on so rapidly that the number of competent persons is insufficient to satisfy the demand and many important positions are occupied by mediocre men. The present tendency is toward a complete manning of these schools by Negroes.

Fortunately, the Negroes are not entirely dependent upon their own schools for college education; most of the Northern universities and colleges are open to them without administrative discrimination. The number of college graduates is, therefore, a better index of educational attainment than is the enrollment in the Negro institutions. In 1924 the Bachelor's degree in arts and science was conferred upon 675 Negro students. The total number of Negroes who have graduated from college is approximately 10,000. Well over one-half of this total have graduated since 1910.

The increasing number of persons completing college courses in reputable schools is one of the most encouraging facts in Negro education. It means a gradual improvement in the intelligence and efficiency of Negro leaderhip; at present, with only occasional exceptions, the teachers, preachers, and other leaders are uneducated men.

The number of men trained to serve the race professionally is wholly inadequate to the need, and provision for the training of professional men is limited. The Negro professional schools are few in number and small in size. Howard University at Washington maintains a law department which enrolled 129 students in 1924. Two other law schools—the Central Law School of Louisville, Kentucky, and the Law Department of the Virginia Union University at Richmond, Virginia—enrolled, respectively, 12 and 15 students. The total number of law students was thus 156. In the same year there were 352 students of medicine in the three medical schools and departments of medicine maintained for Negroes. The number of dental students was 402, and the three schools of pharmacy enrolled a total of 178 students. The schools of theology are numerous. There were 51 such schools or departments in 1924. They are inferior in every respect and have no standing even within the

race. The total number of degree students in the 51 schools was only 158.

In higher education the Negroes have had almost no part. In the whole educational history of the race in America the degree of Doctor of Philosophy has been conferred upon twenty-nine men of Negro blood.

SUMMARY

The earliest and most important means of education of the Negro slaves was the contact and association with the white people which resulted incidentally from the servile status. They learned the language and acquired informally but effectively much of the culture tradition. Because of unequally favorable opportunities the education of some was more rapid than of others and great differences developed which were increased and perpetuated by the continued importation of raw Negroes long after many of the Negroes had assimilated the externals of the foreign culture heritage.

The formal education was, to all intents and purposes, negligible. The ministers in some cases interested themselves in the Negroes but this was essentially a religious interest; such secular education as they gave was incidental. Certain masters made it possible for favored individuals, chiefly mixed-bloods, to acquire some literary education, in some cases because of sentimental reasons; in other cases it was for the purpose of increasing slave efficiency. There were a few Negroes of some literary training all through the slave period but so few as to be curiosities; there were none of real education. In 1860 nine-tenths of the Negroes were wholly illiterate while the remainder had a very trivial amount of education.

The enthusiasm of the anti-slavery, war, and reconstruction decades led to the extension of church and missionary schools. Except as a means of religious propa-

ganda, the literary and classical type of education was a failure. It was ill-adapted to the needs of the situation and did much to bring the whole idea of Negro education into disrepute.

The present rise of industrial schools came in the effort to give the masses of the race some education along the lines of their life problems. The forceful personality of Booker T. Washington popularized this type of education among the Negroes and in the country generally. The South approved it as in harmony with the philosophy of the Negro as a worker and a servant; they had opposed the classical education on the ground that it spoiled otherwise valuable servants and laborers. The white North approved of the idea of industrial education as an effort to do something practical in what appeared to be a hopeless situation. It was opposed by the Negro intellectuals on the assumption that it was designed to keep the race in subjection. And it was frequently made ineffectual because of the opposition of organized labor. It is chiefly because of this trade union opposition that industrial training in both Negro and white schools has not developed.

The public schools for Negroes have had a slow growth and at the present time are poorly housed, inadequately supported, and taught by incompetent teachers. They have reduced in a remarkable way the formal figures of illiteracy but it must be remembered that a very large number of Negroes reporting themselves as literate are not so. Latterly there has been some tendency to improve the educational facilities in the South. The effort to stop the migration of Negroes has led to more liberal educational appropriations and to a racially more equitable distribution of funds.

The provisions for higher education, particularly secondary and normal education, are quite inadequate. In 1920 there were some five hundred institutions of second-

ary, normal, and college grade but with very few exceptions the work was of inferior quality.

The outlook for Negro education is not wholly bright. The bulk of the race is and probably will remain in the South. The dual system of schools in that section of the country makes it improbable that the education of either race will compare favorably with that in other parts of the country. The Negro schools have improved but there is no evidence of a general disposition to give Negro children educational opportunities equal to those provided for white children. Moreover, the Negro schools are passing, more and more, into the hands of the Negroes. But the number of Negroes of genuine education is very small. The total number of really educated Negroes in the country is not sufficient to make a faculty for one first-class college. It is more true of the higher than of the elementary education that separate schools for Negroes mean inferior schools for Negroes. It would be a far wiser educational and racial policy to use the funds that now support inferior Negro colleges to send Negro pupils of ability to the real colleges and universities of other sections of the country.

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CHAPTER XII

THE NEGRO IN LITERATURE, ART AND MUSIC

THE SLIGHT ACCOMPLISHMENT OF THE NEGROES IN THE REALM OF THE FINE ARTS

Measured by objective standards, the contributions of the Negroes in the realm of literature and the fine arts, as in science and scholarship, have been small and unimportant. There are no single pieces of work of first or even second rank, and few individuals of more than local and racial reputation have appeared.

The fact is subject to social explanation and the barren record probably implies nothing in regard to future accomplishment. The historic status of the race is sufficient to explain the absence of achievement. The conditions of life in America have been such as to discourage artistic activity and accomplishment of high order in whites as well as Negroes. The run of attention has been on other things, the prizes of popular esteem and approval have gone to men of action rather than to men of thought and sensibility.

There are additional facts of special application to the Negroes. The bulk of the race is only a generation from slavery. At the time of their emancipation they were without education and had no cultural background. The period of freedom has not been sufficiently long for the cultural level of the race to rise to European standards. The number of individuals of education is very small and the great mass barely literate. Moreover, the bulk of the population is rural and pretty effectively isolated from cultural stimulation. The economic position of the ma-

jority of the members of the race is insecure. There has been no leisure class interested in culture or in acting as patron to talent appearing outside. The race has lacked the poise, confidence, and self-respect conducive, if not essential, to artistic endeavor.

THE LITERARY TREATMENT OF THE NEGRO AS A SUBJECT

In America the Negroes have been creators of literature and subjects of literary treatment. White writers have made a considerable use of Negro life and character as the theme of story. The treatment has varied with changes in literary taste and fashion and, inasmuch as literary art reflects the social thought of the time, with changes in Negro culture and race relations.

There is a frequent plaint that white writers have not given the Negro an adequate literary interpretation. It is claimed that he has not been treated seriously as literary material, that the treatment has sometimes been unsympathetic and unjust, that he has been made the clown or the villain of the piece. There is of course both truth and error in the usual complaint. There is no doubt that Negro life contains a wealth of tragedy and of comedy untouched by the literary artist: there is a mine of material unworked from the interpretative point of view. But the position that the race is seriously maligned in literature is true only in the sense that art is everywhere a distortion of reality. The rank and file of writers seize upon facts of journalistic interest, the unusual and spectacular, and the types thus defined may become symbolic of a whole group. The sentimental, comic, and grotesque side of Negro life and character has been exploited, possibly out of proportion. But a similar thing is true in regard to the Jew, the white Southerner, the American farmer, the business man, and numerous other types that have been made the object matter of literary treatment.

The first successful use of Negroes in fiction was in Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin.* This novel, published in 1852, had to do with slave life and character. It was a sentimental tale of little merit but the temper of the times was such as to secure it a wide reading. For a very long period it influenced or defined the public idea of Negro character. Topsy and Uncle Tom became and remain today the most generally known of American literary characters.

In the post Civil War decades several competent literary craftsmen made use of Negro characters. The sentimental attitude of the War decade remained and colored the type of literary production. But the Negro was recognized as a source of comedy: the happy, picturesque, and care-free type was introduced to the reading public. Thomas Nelson Page gave a series of sympathetic pictures of Negro life and character. George W. Cable in his *Old Creole Days* and elsewhere made an invaluable contribution to an appreciation of life and character in the nationally and culturally mixed populations of New Orleans and Mobile. Thomas Dixon in his widely read novel, *The Leopard Spots,* and elsewhere, introduced the reading public to a different and less pleasant phase of Negro life and character.

Stories of irresponsible and picturesque Negro characters became and continue to be popular. The various darkey-stories of Octavus Roy Cohen and other writers have made the comedy side of Negro character known to a very large public.

In recent years a number of white writers have undertaken novels of Negro life. Among these may be mentioned Miss Ovington's *The Shadow,* Shand's *White and Black,* Wood's *Niger,* and Stribling's *Birthright.* Eugene O'Neill's *Emperor Jones* and *All God's Chillun Got Wings* are other recent attempts to treat the Negro seriously as a literary object. Unfortunately, most of

these attempts do not rank high when evaluated as literature.

THE FOLK STORIES OF THE AMERICAN NEGROES

The folk rhymes and tales more or less current among the Negroes require only brief comment. The rhymes reflect a simple outlook upon life, they are often picturesque in imagery, and sometimes they approach rhythmic perfection. They are often vulgarly expressed.

The literary work of Joel Chandler Harris is chiefly responsible for the popular idea that the American Negroes have a singularly rich body of folk tales passed on from original African sources. These stories are a literary achievement. They give an admirable interpretation of ante-bellum Negro life and character, and they are the best record extant of the Negro dialect of the period. But they are in no real sense a record of Negro folklore. Harris does not record real Negro folk tales: he has used the current scraps of stories as a basis for literature.

For the most part the Uncle Remus stories are not of Negro origin. Many of them were current in certain parts of the Lower South and known to both Negroes and whites. They are local versions of stories told in many parts of the world and found in different languages. Many of them are close versions of tales of Hindu origin. This is true, for example, of "The Lion Hunts for Mr. Man," "Bre'r Rabbit," and others. Some of these stories crossed Asia to Europe, and came into English by way of the French and Spanish. So far as the American Negroes are concerned the stories are mainly of Spanish origin. Some of the Hindu tales were carried into Africa by the Arabs and may have been introduced into America by the Arabized slaves. The source of some of

the stories has not been established: The "Tar Baby" story, for example, may be of African origin.

PERSONAL NARRATIVES AND THE LITERATURE OF PROTEST

The contribution made by Negroes to American literature is slight and contains very little of any permanent value. It is only very recently that there has been any contribution at all. There were from time to time efforts in this direction which attracted popular attention. But the public interest was excited by the unexpected fact that a Negro could write a book rather than because the production had merit. The output was small and the quality low, but since nothing worth while was expected the early efforts often received lavish praise.

One of the main lines taken by Negro literary activity has been that of personal narrative. The first of these stories appears to be that of Gustavus Vassa whose 350 page autobiography was published in 1878. It was the beginning of a long series of personal appeals capitalizing the sentimental interest that the whites everywhere have in the Negroes. In the later decades of the anti-slavery agitation a large number of such stories picturing the life of the slave were written by or for Negroes. *The Memoirs of Archy Moore; Narratives of the Adventures and Escapes of Moses Roper; The Kidnapped and the Ransomed; The Narrative of Sojourner Truth;* and *The Autobiography of a Fugitive Slave* are typical examples. The best known though not the best of these slave stories is the autobiography of Frederick Douglass published under the title *My Bondage and Freedom.*

The interest in this type of writing did not end with the freedom of the slaves. There is a sentimental white public ready for the story of any Negro and these personal narratives continue to appear. In Booker T. Washington's autobiography, *Up From Slavery,* this form of writ-

ing reached its best expression. William Pickens' *The Heir of Slaves* and Robert R. Moton's *Finding a Way Out* are more recent though somewhat less successful attempts to capitalize the popular interest. The two volumes by W. E. B. DuBois, *The Souls of Black Folk* and *Darkwater* classify with this group of personal narratives.

Closely allied to these personal documents is the considerable literature of protest that has carried on, in the later-day situation, the anti-slavery spirit and tradition. The Negroes were out of bondage but still not free. The period from the Civil War to the end of the century was one of legal freedom and of psychological slavery. The great body of polemic and controversial writing of the half century was a plea to be made the equal of the white man, a demand of the Negroes that something be done for them. This body of writing varied in temper from the plaintive and pathetic to the intemperate and abusive, but it always and inevitably embodied an attitude of inferiority. It was a plea for mercy; a cry for justice; a demand for rights; a begging for alms.

Out of this hysterical knocking at the white man's door there is gradually taking form a modified type of protest, an inspirational literature. In one aspect it is an expression of the developing race psychosis, a philosophical rationalization of the intellectual and social status. But it is everywhere subjective, shot through with the prejudice and passion of revolt. Treated as data, it contributes to an understanding of racial phenomena, as an analysis of present problems it is notably lacking. No Negro essayist to the present time has succeeded in making a calm objective statement of the race problem.

The major part of the historical writing of Negroes is properly to be classed with this body of personal and protest literature and to be treated as data by the student of social and psychological phenomena. A large number

of individuals are industriously engaged in compiling racial facts and interpreting American history from a racial point of view. The movement is at once an apology for a somewhat culturally barren past and an effort to provide an historical background for the growing nationality. It is an effort to create a racial self-respect. In content this writing varies from efforts to prove that a major part of world accomplishment is Negroid in origin and that numerous historic characters were men of African descent, to a dogged and systematic effort to introduce a black racial bias into the popular idea of American history. Just as the white American school child is taught American history from the point of view of the American patriot, the Negro school child is to see it from the point of view of the black racialist. The racial, as the patriotic, bias is of course incompatible with modern historiographic standards. It may be very valuable for certain purposes but much of it is not history.

THE NEGRO LITERATURE

It was not until near the end of the last century that Negroes made any contribution to American poetry. Prior to that time a few scraps of verse said to be composed by slaves found their way into print. There was a little verse composed by Jupiter Hammond, a Connecticut Negro, during the latter part of the eighteenth century. Just before the American Revolution a little collection of verse composed by a slave woman, Phillis Wheatley, was printed under the title, *Poems on Various Subjects, Religious and Moral.* Judged by any literary standards the statement of Thomas Jefferson that "her poems are beneath contempt" is not harsh. In 1829 a little group of poems composed by an illiterate Negro slave in North Carolina was printed under the title *The Hope of Freedom.* And there were other occasional bits of verse

that found their way into print but there was nothing of literary merit.

The first Negro to gain distinction as a poet was Paul Laurence Dunbar. The enthusiastic introduction given the *Lyrics of Lowly Life* by William Dean Howells brought the poetry of Dunbar into great vogue. At its best it is characterized by a simple blending of humor and pathos expressed in a homely Negro dialect.

Current Negro poetry had its beginning in the second decade of the present century. Several versifiers of ability have appeared and some work is of high quality. Effort in this direction is given great encouragement; many of the papers and journals have poetry departments and print much verse. The volume of competent work is still very slight but the assurance of immediate recognition awaiting even mediocre work promises to bring to expression whatever poetic genius the race may possess.

In fiction no American Negro has as yet accomplished anything not surpassed by hundreds of other writers. Most of the efforts have been imitative rather than attempts to express racial life. Success in this field depends solely upon merit. There is no prejudice, no discrimination. There is a public eagerly awaiting any work of merit, and any competent craftsman is assured of immediate success. But a novel of importance by a Negro is as yet to be written.

THE FOLK SONGS OF THE AMERICAN NEGROES

The Negroes have been an important factor in the development of American music. They have had a very marked indirect influence and their positive contributions have been not only large but unique. It is in this field that they have made their chief contribution to the higher cultural life of the society.

In the slave period they produced a body of song that

stands as America's only indigenous music. Like all folk music these slave songs were closely connected with work and play and varied with the local conditions of life. They were an outgrowth of the daily plantation life and expressed the hopes and joys and fears of a primitive group in an alien environment. Song was almost the sole means they had for expressing their emotions, and they reflect the whole emotional life of the race in servitude.

The songs are so simple and rhythmical as to require a minimum of accompaniment. They are replete with childish imagery and monotonous with much repetition. They are generally cheerful, sometimes humorous, rarely sad. They express a spirit of resignation, sometimes with a touch of yearning. They are characterized by the use of minor mode and the common use of syncopated rhythm. A plaintive note of self-pity runs as a main theme through all Negro songs, yet the slave songs were rather rarely sorrow songs.

The majority of the slave songs were semi-religious in character and express the child-like faith of the people. The sper'chels were peculiar monotonous hymns, rudimentary in phraseology and ideas, composed and sung under stress of religious excitement. In some cases they were interpretations of standard hymns. The shout songs so common to revivals and camp meetings grew out of and long remained closely related to the sensuous primitive religious dance. This body of religious song is still being added to wherever groups work themselves into a religious frenzy. Happy phrases, frequently without thought content, improvised at such times are remembered, repeated on other similar occasions, and pass into the body of folk song.

The work songs were employed wherever there was a desire to stimulate the laborers, or a need to synchronize their efforts. They are still employed for both purposes. They commonly consist of a single line, often connected

with the work, and a meaningless chorus, the whole being repeated over and over, sometimes with and sometimes without variation. These work songs, like the religious songs, are being added to for the Negro still works and sings.

Romantic love was seldom the theme of Negro song. The only exception was in Louisiana, the French Lower South, and there the songs were perhaps rather creole than Negro. The French-English musician Gottschalk made these creole airs known to the musical world.

The plantation music has at times been exalted beyond its true importance. It has been treated as something of unique artistic value. Writers have professed to see in the crude, half-articulate, slave songs a "tragic profundity of emotional experience." There have been some attempts to refine and modernize the crude music of the slaves into a sophisticated art form as well as efforts to take the bits of melody and give them an artistic expression. They have furnished themes from which some musical compositions have been evolved. Dvorak's "New World Symphony" is founded chiefly on these themes and they have been somewhat widely exploited elsewhere.

What it may be possible for musicians to do with the slave songs remains to be seen and is, of course, a thing quite apart from the songs themselves. It is a far cry from the rude slave song to the writing of modern music.

THE MINSTREL MUSIC

Through the minstrels the Negroes indirectly exerted their greatest influence on the development of American music. The minstrel acts were at first brief humorous skits introduced between other features of an entertainment. Later they were developed into a whole evening's entertainment.

The Negroes were themselves interesting; with their

peculiarities exaggerated they became highly so. The ludicrous side of Negro character, being most obvious, was hit upon; song and impersonation was the vehicle of expression. During the long-continued popularity of the early minstrel entertainments a more or less distinct group of melodies developed. The early shows were patterned on the plantation "darkey." The feeling toward this type always contained a large measure of sympathy. The demand of the minstrels for suitable songs brought out the compositions of Stephen C. Foster and many other ballads of like nature.

The minstrel shows later changed form. The plantation "darkey" was replaced by the city "coon" and the show became a spectacle. The period of plantation melody was superseded by the "coon" songs. These were in quasi-Negro dialect and the music abounded in the peculiar syncopation found in the true Negro melodies. This presently became the popular music of the day. Once the minstrel shows ceased to travesty the real plantation Negro and turned to exploit the city type they lost in popular favor and presently disappeared. In the impersonation of the simple Negro there was always an element of love and sympathy in the midst of the caricature. The city "coon" was an object of ridicule, not of sympathetic interpretation.

The minstrel shows left behind a rich body of popular music—the "darkey" ballads and the "coon" songs. The Negroes were the inspiration of this music but had little or no part in it as creators.

THE NEGRO AND THE POPULAR MUSIC

The present-day "jazz" and "rag-time" may be passed without extended comment. This musical variant that dominates the present-day amusement life of America is primitive rather than African in origin. It has had a

long history in America in the bawdy houses, saloons, and indecent dance halls. It came into its great popular vogue with the slump of moral and æsthetic standards incident to the European War. Its popularity is in part due to the general lack of musical taste, in part to the fact that it is a very effective device for breaking down the inhibitions of culture and refinement.

In this musical craze the Negro musicians have had a prominent place both as performers and as composers.

A few artists, notably Paul Whiteman and Vincent Lopez, have attempted to rid it of crude vulgarity but this is to destroy the essential element of its appeal. The effort to develop it as an artistic form has so far met with no success.

MUSIC AND THE NEGRO

What the Negroes eventually will be able to achieve in music remains for the future to disclose. The slave songs are of course a worthy achievement but are no assurance of ability to use an art form. It was the conditions of plantation life, not the fact of race, that produced these songs.

The fact of cultural exclusion has stood in the way of artistic achievement. With increased opportunity for training in musical technique it is reasonable to anticipate a great increase in the number of high-class artists. In spite of the handicaps of poverty and isolation the race has produced a fair number of capable performers. Samuel Coleridge-Taylor, an English composer of some Negro blood, was the most capable artist so far produced. In this country Will Marian Cook and Rosamond J. Johnson are musicians best known for their popular songs. Roland Hayes is one of the best of the present-day tenors. Harry T. Burleigh is known both as a soloist and as a composer. Nathaniel Dett is a composer of ability. James

Reese Europe was a band leader of national reputation. There are several other Negro artists whose ability has brought them recognition outside of race circles, and many others of promise.

But in music the Negroes remain more a hope and a promise than a present reality. As suggested above this probably is due to lack of technical education.

Except as poverty leads to an absence of opportunity for training, the Negroes have no serious handicap in the field of music. Indeed there is a popular tradition that they have a peculiar musical ability which assures any Negro performer a sympathetic hearing. Moreover there is an influential group in musical circles ready to accept any individual of promise. The eagerness for the appearance of talented individuals who would justify the faith that the race is destined to great achievement in music has sometimes resulted in premature and exaggerated praise. But the public attitude is such that it will bring to expression any musical talent that the race may possess.

DRAMA, PAINTING, AND SCULPTURE

In the other arts—drama, painting, sculpture—there have been indications of artistic ability and a few individuals have made a marked success but the body of achievement is small.

In dramatic composition practically nothing has been done by Negroes. Much has been done in the interpretation and caricature of Negro character. The sentimental drama, *Uncle Tom's Cabin,* enjoyed a long and wide popularity and did much to determine the popular sympathetic attitude toward the simple Negro. In the minstrel shows the Negroes had little part as performers or composers.

In comedy Bert Williams, a West India mulatto, gained a national reputation as an artist of first rank. His is the only outstanding name. A series of musical comedies of

the type of *Shuffle Along* are essentially minstrel shows presented by Negroes.

The Negroes have accomplished little in the presentation of serious drama. A large white audience is awaiting any real talent that appears. But the acting of Charles Gilpin in O'Neill's play, *Emperor Jones,* is the only high-class work that has so far appeared.

In painting few Negroes have gained any prominence and in sculpture none. A longer period of freedom and the development of a culture tradition are necessary before much work of art value may be anticipated.

THE ARTISTIC FUTURE OF THE AMERICAN NEGROES

There is a general belief that the Negro people are, by racial nature, artistic. When free to select pursuits without economic or other pressure, they seem to show a tendency toward artistic rather than toward professional or business careers.

Of more significance than a possible temperamental bias is the social stimulation to accomplishment. The Negro child is socially conditioned to the arts. The individuals who have won distinction in America have with few exceptions done so in music, literature, or some related field. The accomplishments of these men are known to all the children of the race. They are individuals of whom the race is justly proud. They are examples of black men who have succeeded. They exemplify the possibilities of success. It is inevitable that the aspirations of the ambitious individuals should be directed along similar lines, that they should look toward an artistic rather than toward a professional or business career. The tendency is reinforced in other ways. The general belief that the race is peculiarly gifted in artistic ways while lacking in the usual capacity for the mechanical and practical arts is shared by the Negroes and operates to encour-

age effort in certain lines and to discourage it in others. The question of prejudice enters. In the artistic field the fact of color is not a handicap, it may even be an asset. There is an enthusiastic white audience ready to welcome any Negro of special talent. The racial interest in literary and artistic endeavor, and the consequent stimulation to effort along these lines, is indicated by the fact that the race supports seven magazines of general literature. In addition to these the great majority of the five hundred newspapers of the race have departments to encourage Negro poets and writers. The race in America supports five magazines devoted exclusively to music. The general interest in the various forms of artistic work and the stimulation that the general interest and unlimited opportunity give makes it certain that whatever talent exists will be developed and get expression and recognition.

While it remains true that the body of artistic accomplishment to date is small and, for the most part, not of high order, there is reason to believe that the volume will increase and the quality improve.

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CHAPTER XIII

THE CHURCH AND RELIGIOUS LIFE OF THE NEGRO

THE RELIGIOUS BACKGROUND OF THE AMERICAN NEGROES

Religion plays and seems always to have played an important rôle in the life of the Negro people. Expressing as it does both the fears and aspirations of men, it is in some form characteristic of all human groups: there is no people without some practices and beliefs that may be brought within a definition of religion. But the complex is of particular importance in the earlier culture stages where it tends to be incorporated as an integral part of the fundamental social organization.

The religion of the African was, basically, a crude and simple demonology. It began and ended in a belief in spirits and in the practices designed to court their favor and to avoid the consequences of their displeasure. There was a lack of unity and system resulting from the decentralization and absence of unity in the political and social life. But as among most other peoples of primitive culture, the religious beliefs and practices formed an integral part of the fundamental social organization. The religion did not exist apart or readily separable from other elements of the culture: it was woven into the economic, social, and political life: the whole institutional life was contaminated by the belief in and the practices toward the supernatural powers. Nassau, an intelligent missionary of long residence among the African tribes, speaking of the West Coast peoples, states that even today "Religion is intimately mixed with every one of these sociological

aspects of family, rights of property, authority, tribal organization, judicial trials, punishments, intertribal relations and commerce." It is a generally accepted position that it is not possible to understand the Africans nor their social organization apart from the religious practices and beliefs that so intimately condition them.

Fear was the basic element in the religious complex of the Negroes. In the conditions of primitive existence in the African environment it could not well have been otherwise. The life of the native was never safe. Personal danger was the universal fact of life. There was an almost complete lack of control of natural forces. The forests and rivers were full of dangerous animals, and dangerous human enemies were always close at hand. The insect pests and the tropical diseases made the conditions of life hard and its duration brief. To the real dangers were added an abundance of malignant spirits. An ever present fear of the natural and supernatural enemies was the normal condition of daily life and protection was the ever present need. These facts everywhere found expression in the religious beliefs and practices.

The state of religious development varied considerably with tribal groups. In some tribes nature worship was elaborated to the point where definite supernatural powers had been differentiated to preside over definite spheres of life. In other groups the basic fetishism was modified by and combined with a worship of nature. In certain of the more politically advanced groups ancestor worship was an important element in the religious complex. But everywhere the practices were directly designed to placate or coerce the malignant and insure the coöperation of the beneficent powers. Since it was the nature of the latter to aid, the cultus procedure in their case was less important and was quite commonly neglected. Magic, both sympathetic and imitative, was practiced by private individuals as well as by professional magicians. Sickness,

accident, injury, death, and other misfortunes were attributed to evil influences exercised by or through some person, and the effort to find the persons guilty of exercising the evil influence lay at the basis of the witch trials and the other bloody religious sacrifices of the African peoples.

In some sections the Negroes had been somewhat influenced by foreign religious contacts.

THE BEGINNINGS OF NEGRO CHRISTIANITY

The first Negroes brought to America were slaves who accompanied the Spanish explorers. They came from the slave population of the Peninsula and were at least nominally Christians. This continued to be the case for a considerable period after the discovery; the Spanish rulers insisted that only baptised African slaves be sent to the West Indies. The captive Negroes were taken to Spain and christianized before being reshipped to the colonies. This policy was abandoned only when the colonial labor demand became too great to be supplied from the servile population of the home country.

But the great majority of the Negroes had had no contact with Christian civilization prior to their importation. Consequently they brought to America a whole body of primitive religious beliefs and attitudes which the planters did not understand and for which they frequently offered no substitute. In general the Negroes clung to their supernatural conceptions and magical ideas with more tenacity than to any other element of their tribal culture. The practice of the pagan rites was in general suppressed but the beliefs frequently spread and continued in many places for long periods after the Negroes had taken on the forms of Christian worship. The white man's religious forms were often made to contain a strange content. Even at the present time in cer-

tain places in the West Indies and elsewhere primitive heathen rites are occasionally practiced, sometimes according to the ritualistic forms of the Catholic Church. In the United States it was not until after the Civil War that the Negro church service became at all generally Christian in content.

In many cases the slaves, where the numbers were small, attended the church services as members of the master's family and became familiar with the white religious principles. But as the number of Negroes increased, special provisions had to be made for their attendance. In some cases the white churches provided galleries to accommodate the Negroes; in other churches the Negroes were allowed to occupy the back rows of seats. Some churches held special services for the Negroes in the church building at an hour that did not interfere with the worship of the whites. In other cases the services for the Negroes were held in the basement of the churches or some other separated place of worship was provided. Sometimes the Negroes were assembled in the church yard and heard as much of the service as drifted through the open doors and windows. In many cases the slaves rather quickly acquired some rudimentary conception of the white man's religion as well as some familiarity with his practices. The matter of their religious instruction was under the control of the slave owners and practice in regard to it differed from master to master. Some owners looked upon the religious conversion of their slaves as a moral duty and made definite provision for their systematic instruction. Other masters were indifferent and, beyond efforts to suppress the practice of witchcraft and other outcroppings of African religion, made no effort to bring the Negroes within the church. Still other masters, fearing that religion would create unrest in the slave population, opposed all efforts to in-

struct them. As early as 1623, four years after the coming of the first slaves, there appear to have been Negro church members in the Jamestown settlement. The religious contacts of these individuals before 1619 are of course not known. The slaves in the small households and the family and house servants most quickly acquired the religious beliefs of the whites. The numbers were few and their contacts relatively numerous. On the plantations the process was much retarded: the number of slaves was large and their contacts relatively few, and there was a continued importation of raw Negroes from abroad. As the old African stock died out the grosser customs tended to disappear: the native born Negroes were more susceptible to the religion of the whites.

The conversion of the slaves to the Christian forms was at first a frequent cause of embarrassment. Their paganism was the basis of their slave status. To many persons it appeared impious to hold Christians in bondage, and the rapid conversion of the Negroes seemed for a time to threaten the permanence of the slave institution. The uncertainty tended in certain places to retard missionary efforts: masters sometimes refused to allow their slaves to be baptized for fear of losing their services. In some cases they were given religious instruction but were not baptized. The problem became acute and various colonial legislative bodies found it necessary to declare that slaves might become Christians without in any way altering the civil status. In 1667 the Virginia Assembly enacted a law declaring that "Baptisme doth not alter the condition of the person as to his bondage or freedom, in order that diverse masters freed from this doubt may more carefully endeavor to propagation of Christianity." It was not until 1729 that all doubt on the subject was put to rest by a Crown declaration that baptism in no way changed the status of the slaves.

THE BEGINNINGS OF THE NEGRO CHURCH

The conversion of Negroes very early gave rise to questions in regard to their church status. In general the first converts became members of white church congregations. But this disposition met with a good deal of opposition: the association was too close to please the whites and too restrictive to satisfy the Negroes. They were tolerated rather than welcomed as members of the white churches. As the number increased the white congregations were generally willing and sometimes anxious to be rid of their Negro members. The belief was very generally held that the gospel could not be presented successfully to the two races together. In many places the arrangement gave rise to administrative difficulties. In New England, for example, where the church and the state were closely connected, membership in the church granted political as well as religious equality and the disposition to christianize the slaves was opposed by the desire to exclude them from the political organization.

If they were to be converted the alternative to accepting them as members of white congregations was to provide separate accommodations for their worship. The sentiment in favor of separation grew rapidly. The opportunity for separation came in many places as a result of population growth and the increase in the number of Negro converts. When it became necessary for congregations to divide because the church buildings were too small to accommodate the growing membership, race and color seemed to be the obvious and natural line of division and separate buildings were provided for the Negro part of the membership.

This separation was usually welcomed by the Negroes. In the white churches they were in an inferior position and commonly had no voice in the church affairs; the control was in the hands of the whites and the Negroes

were given special seats apart from the white members. There were some beginnings of a desire for self-determination. In some cases the free Negro members, with the consent and assistance of the white members, withdrew and established their own churches. The separate service gave more freedom of expression, and the separate buildings gave them in many cases not only a place of worship but also a center for their social life.

The early Negro congregations, however, were only nominally separated from the whites, the special churches being for Negroes rather than being Negro churches. They were under white control and supervision and in general white preachers ministered to their needs. They had the same doctrine as the white congregation and used the same literature. In a few cases there were Negro preachers for the Negro groups. This was rarely the case in the South where, for reasons to be indicated presently, the whites retained a fairly close and complete control. In the North a few Negro preachers appeared even before the Revolutionary War. The whites came presently to look upon the separated local Negro part of the congregation as a necessary but undesirable adjunct and often took little account of it.

In the South before the Emancipation the Negroes, both slave and free, had to be content with such religious privileges as were granted them by the whites. So far as the slaves were concerned, the privilege of church attendance depended upon the will of the master and a number of considerations led to the regulation and restriction of their religious development. Many of the Southern masters were sincere in the belief that the system of domestic slavery afforded the only sane and natural method of elevating the Negroes. They recognized the moral injury that came to the slave as a result of participation in religious excitement and imposed various restrictions to guard against their demoralization. The

so-called camp meetings were usually forbidden as were in general all night meetings of Negroes. The religious activities of the free Negroes were also restricted. There were a few independent Negro congregations but the evils of these were notorious and so much disorder cloaked itself under the name of religion and the independent churches were so often the center of disorganizing forces that their formation was generally forbidden. This was partly on the ground of public safety: the assembly of any considerable body of Negroes for any purpose tended to be disorderly and contained elements of public danger. The fear of servile insurrection led to various legislative and police prohibitions on the assembly of Negroes and these became more stringent as certain abortive rebellions called public attention to the dangers. The Negro meetings were frequently disorderly and complaints of the disturbance of the peace of the community led to many police restrictions. The Negro church meetings, when they ceased to be a curiosity, became a public nuisance and were suppressed like other disorderly meetings of the Negroes. To make religious worship an amusement and an amusing spectacle was offensive to many pious persons and their shocked sensibilities were an element in the opposition to independent Negro churches. Negro preachers were generally discouraged or suppressed. In nearly all cases they were grossly ignorant and incompetent persons and their preaching often morally injurious to the Negro listeners. There was also always the possibility of irresponsible Negroes abusing the opportunity and endangering the peace of the community. They became especially unpopular as the whites realized the opportunity they had to incite trouble. Nat Turner, the leader of a Negro insurrection in Virginia, operated as a preacher. However, there were Negro churches and Negro preachers in the South. In many places they were allowed to exist undisturbed if they had the sanction of

the white minister. In other places no prohibition was placed upon Negro churches or the prohibitions were not enforced so long as they did not offend against public peace and decency. In some places there was little opposition to the black preachers who were known not to be trouble makers engaged in stirring up the Negroes to oppose the social order. The restrictions upon the extravagant behavior of the Negroes continued in some places even after the Civil War; Mississippi, for a time after the Emancipation, prohibited these meetings in the interests of social order.

Separate, and presently independent, Negro church organizations grew and multiplied whenever the restrictions were removed. The Negroes were nowhere enthusiastically welcomed as members of white congregations; at best they were tolerated and when opportunity arose they had the coöperation of the whites in the establishment of separate churches. The separate meetings afforded the Negroes an opportunity to escape the restraints imposed by the whites and to enjoy their religious emotions to the full. Restrictions on this natural segregation tendency were imposed in various places in the interests of law and order and to prevent the demoralization and moral evils that frequently resulted.

THE SEPARATION AND GROWTH OF THE NEGRO CHURCH

A few separate local churches grew up among the free Negroes in the latter quarter of the eighteenth century and separate church organizations were formed during the first half of the nineteenth century. At the time of emancipation there were perhaps 700,000 Negro church members most of whom held their membership in white churches. Approximately one-half of the number were Baptists and four-fifths of the remainder were Methodists. After the Civil War the Negro churches entered

upon a new period of development. Separate churches sprang up everywhere and the Negro members rapidly withdrew from white churches and joined those of their own race.

In 1890, the time of the first census of Negro churches, there were over 23,000 separate organizations. At the second enumeration in 1906 the number of organizations had increased to nearly 37,000 and to over 39,000 in 1916, the date of the last enumeration. The church membership increased from two and one-half million in 1890, to three and one-half million in 1916. At the present time five out of every eleven Negroes in the United States are members of some church. The exact figures are given in the table below.

NEGRO CHURCHES AND CHURCH MEMBERSHIP

Year	*Organizations*	*Membership*
1890	23,462	2,676,539
1906	36,770	3,691,844
1916	39,655	4,602,805

During this period there was a similar increase in the amount and value of church property. In 1890 the church buildings numbered about twenty-four thousand. The number increased to thirty-five thousand in 1906 and to thirty-seven thousand in 1916. The value of church property increased from twenty-six and one-half million in 1890, to fifty-six and one-half million in 1906, and to nearly eighty-six million in 1916. The debt on this church property increased from approximately five million dollars in 1906 to approximately eight million in 1916. The figures in regard to church debt were not secured at the first enumeration. The exact figures for churches and church property at each enumeration are given in the table.

NEGRO CHURCHES AND CHURCH PROPERTY

Year	*Churches*	*Church Property*
1890	23,770	$26,626,448
1906	35,160	56,636,159
1916	37,371	86,809,970

There has been a similar growth in the Sunday Schools maintained by these churches. In the ten year period from 1906 to 1916 there was an increase of about three thousand in the number of such schools. During the same decade there was an increase of over four hundred thousand in the number of scholars enrolled in these schools. The exact figures are given below.

NEGRO SUNDAY SCHOOLS AND SUNDAY SCHOOL ENROLLMENT

Year	*Schools*	*Enrollment*
1906	34,681	1,740,099
1916	37,770	2,153,843

The Negro churches divide into two main groups: those which are exclusively Negro in membership and control, and those organizations which are parts of the white denominations. Of the nineteen recognized independent Negro denominations in the United States at the present time only four are important from the point of view of membership and property. In the table on page 320 comparable statistical facts of significance are given for the larger of the independent denominations.

In addition to the independent Negro denominations there are some thirty white denominations composed in part of Negro organizations. There were about four thousand such Negro organizations in 1890, the number increased to about five thousand in 1906, and in the following decade declined slightly. The membership increased slowly during the quarter of a century covered by

THE MORE IMPORTANT INDEPENDENT NEGRO DENOMINATIONS

Denominations	*Number of Churches*	*Church Membership*	*Church Property*
Baptist National Convention.....	24,333	3,253,733	$45,274,850
African Methodist Episcopal.....	6,900	575,865	16,320,284
Colored Methodist Episcopal.....	3,824	366,320	7,135,213
African Methodist Episcopal Zion	2,716	412,328	8,321,428
Union American Methodist Episcopal	385	21,000	28,500
Colored Primitive Baptists.....	336	15,144	165,220
Colored Free Will Baptists.....	170	13,362	180,375
Church of the Living God.....	166	9,626	78,955
Colored Cumberland Presbyterians	136	13,077	260,721
The ten remaining denominations.	364	34,809	505,413
Totals	39,341	4,715,314	$78,270,959

the figures; from about one-third of a million in 1890 to nearly one-half million in 1906, and to over five hundred and thirty thousand in 1916. The value of property owned by these organizations increased from six million dollars in 1890 to twelve million in 1906 and to approximately sixteen and one-half million in 1916. This group of church organizations conducts nearly seven thousand Sunday schools enrolling nearly one-half million pupils.

With a single exception these organizations are small and in many cases very small. In the table on page 321 comparable statistical facts of significance are given for each of the organizations reporting one hundred or more church congregations.

There are throughout the United States a few thousand individual Negroes who hold membership in white churches.

The general tendency, already noted, for the Negroes to join denominations composed wholly of members of their own race appears clearly in a comparison of the number and growth of the Negro denominations with the number and growth of Negro organizations in denominations of which they form only a part. In 1890 the organ-

WHITE DENOMINATIONS WITH IMPORTANT NEGRO BRANCHES

Denominations	*Number of Churches*	*Church Membership*	*Church Property*
Methodist Episcopal	4,704	332,523	$ 9,685,000
Primitive Baptists	797	35,706	350,000
Disciples of Christ	765	33,275	365,000
Presbyterian Church of the United States of America	460	27,272	1,276,148
Protestant Episcopal Church	217	23,775	1,527,768
Free Baptists	197	10,876	186,130
Seventh-Day Adventists	160	7,000	400,000
Baptist Northern Convention	156	65,000	3,250,242
Congregational Churches	156	15,120	950,000
Christian Church (Christian Convention)	120	12,200	170,000
Roman Catholic	100	60,288	1,250,000
The nineteen remaining denominations	342	16,291	394,533
Total	8,174	639,326	19,804,821

izations wholly Negro composed 81.7 per cent of the total; in 1916 they composed 85.5 per cent of the total. A similar tendency is evident in the membership distribution: in 1890 there was 86.7 per cent of the Negro church membership in the independent organizations; in 1916 this had increased to 88.4 per cent of the total.

NEGRO DENOMINATIONS AND CHURCH MEMBERSHIP

It is evident from the above summary of growth and membership that the Negroes not only tend to join the independent denominations but that they also gravitate to a limited number of them.

It is commonly asserted, probably with some measure of truth, that this denominational distribution is an expression of racial temperament. There is said to be something peculiarly racial in religion and its expression. The logical philosophical speculation that appeals to the Oriental does not satisfy Western peoples, who seem to

long for concrete expression of religious belief, and the conversion of individuals of one group to the religion of the other seems often to result in a change of form without a corresponding change of fundamental content.

But any organized body of culture facts undergoes an unavoidable and real change in transmission from group to group quite independent of temperamental differences. Normally a people select elements from a foreign culture complex and incorporate the abstracted elements in a more or less disguised form into their system. Where the opposite is the case, where one group takes over bodily the culture system of another, the elements of the adopted system are understood in terms of the body of similar doctrine already possessed by the group. The full significance that the system has for the people who evolved it to serve their peculiar needs is not understood by the people who adopt it and, in the new hands, it is modified and, from the point of view of its originators, corrupted in the foreign usage. Language undergoes profound changes in its transmission to a foreign group and in being adapted to their needs. The labor of missionaries has not infrequently resulted in the transmission of a ritualistic ceremonial according to which the natives thereafter practiced their heathen rites. The external culture form has a content as variable as the situation and the need to which it is adapted.

The Negroes took over the church forms and religious beliefs of the white men. In so doing, they understood and interpreted the forms and beliefs in terms of their existing body of philosophic thought and employed the forms to express their social and temperamental needs. Unconsciously and unintentionally perhaps but none the less truly, they modified the religion given them by their white teachers. These early conceptions were passed on to the children and were gradually corrected with the advance in the culture of the group. It was slowly and

by degrees only that the Negroes came fully into the religious heritage of the white people.

The denominational affiliation of the Negroes was determined in part by the general attitude of the white organizations. Some of the church groups not only welcomed a Negro membership but systematically proselyted the Negroes; others made no special effort to attract them and sometimes even discouraged their membership. The character of the church service operated in the same direction. The Catholic church maintained schools and missions but the service did not attract the Negroes. The sects with a free, informal, and spectacular form of worship made a greater appeal to the Negro than did those with a more dignified, formal, and ritualistic service. The attitude of the church and the nature of the service operating in the same direction resulted in the concentration of the Negroes in relatively few evangelical denominations.

At the present time, approximately two-thirds of the Negro church members belong to Baptist organizations and nearly one-third are Methodists. In the following table a summary is given of the chief Negro denominations showing the percentage of total membership in each and the percentage of the total church property owned by each.

Denominations	*Percentage of Total Membership*	*Percentage of Church Property*
Baptists	65.6	50.8
Methodist	29.8	41.4
Roman Catholic	1.1	1.4
Presbyterian	1.0	1.8
Episcopalian	0.5	1.8
Congregational	0.2	1.0
Disciples of Christ	0.2	0.3
Christian	0.2	0.2
Church of the Living God	0.2	0.1
Miscellaneous	0.2	0.2

THE CHURCHES AND CHURCH PROPERTY OF THE NEGRO PEOPLE

Owing largely to the fact that so many avenues of expression have been closed to them, the Negroes have put a great amount of energy, money, and enthusiasm into their church life. It is almost the only institution that they can really call their own; in it they are more completely independent than in any other important social relation. To its support they probably give more, in proportion to their wealth, than any other group.

But the race is poor and the typical congregation is small. Consequently, the individual churches, in spite of frequent and liberal contributions from friendly whites, are generally without adequate financial support.

The typical Negro country church is a small rectangular frame building of rough and simple structure. It is generally located at some crossroads. The exterior is frequently unpainted and the furnishings limited to rude benches facing a platform and pulpit. The congregation is frequently very small; the people are poor, ignorant, and widely scattered. In these circumstances it is difficult to obtain ministers of education. The congregation is frequently unable to support a resident pastor. In some cases they are served by a farmer or laborer who preaches on Sunday. In other cases they are served by a pastor from a near-by town at such hours as do not conflict with his regular duties. In still other cases one preacher divides his time and ministers in a partial way to two or more rural congregations. In many cases church services are held but once or twice a month or whenever a minister can be secured. Prayer meetings and Sunday Schools are held at regular intervals. There are of course notable exceptions but in general the rural Negro church is backward and neglected.

While the village and small town churches do not differ

essentially from those in the rural districts, they are in a very much stronger position. The membership is larger and less scattered, they generally support a resident pastor, and hold regular services.

The more wealthy congregations in the larger towns and cities often have large and well-built churches that conform in architecture and furnishings to the conventional church standards.

The church congregations, where the community undertakes the support of more than one church, very generally parallel the prevailing class and caste distinctions. The educated, well-bred, prosperous, and light-colored individuals compose a large percentage of certain congregations while other congregations are made up almost in their entirety of the dark-skinned and ignorant manual laborers. The denominational separation frequently follows similar lines: the aristocratic congregations are frequently Presbyterian, Congregationalist, or Episcopalian; the Baptist and Methodist congregations in a much larger percentage of cases are made up of the poor, ignorant, and simple people. This segregation in so far as it is economic, shows unmistakably in the proportional distribution of church property owned by denominations.

NEGRO MINISTERS AND THEIR TRAINING

During the period of slavery the white religious organizations supplied the Negro congregations with the majority of the preachers. In these churches Negro exhorters were sometimes allowed to speak from the floor though seldom if ever from the pulpit. A few congregations had preachers of their own race and several of these individuals gained some notoriety through the effectiveness of their work. But there was no real opportunity so long as the churches remained under white control; it was not until after the Emancipation, when the ministry

passed into the hands of the race, that the Negro preachers became a factor of importance in the church and religious life.

In the early days of freedom the quality of the ministry was very low. There was a dearth of trained men. Moreover, the ministry of the independent churches was open to any individual who felt the "call to preach," regardless of intellectual, educational, or moral qualifications, and often the pulpits were filled by men who were profoundly ignorant and in other ways ill-fitted to assume the moral leadership of a backward people. Many of these men had a certain natural eloquence, the easy flow of words that so often accompanies an absence of thought, and the masses of the race were at a culture stage where they reacted to the sound of the sermon rather than to its thought content. Ignorance therefore, was not a handicap to successful preaching. Any man who could deliver a "rousement" sermon became an outstanding character and a religious leader of the people.

Even at the present time the standards are low. The great majority of the ministers are men of mediocre ability and of limited education. And there is little prospect of an early improvement. The number of specially trained men is entirely inadequate to supply the congregations. The schools for the training of these men are, with few exceptions, of inferior grade, poorly endowed, and poorly attended and the graduates are by no means all men of merit. The ministry is in disrepute—looked upon as at best a necessary nuisance. Partly because of the inferior quality of the personnel, few capable young men aspire to make the ministry their life work and the theological classes are quite generally composed of students who lack the native capacity to meet the more rigorous standards maintained in academic and professional fields. The standards are sometimes low in other than intellectual ways. "It is often charged against him,

that even among the elect, a high standard of morality does not accompany emotional fervor, and that even gross immorality is frequent, and too frequently condoned." Because of his position the preacher has a very great influence on the tone of the community life: Negro writers have frequently explained the low moral standards of the race as a whole as due at least in part to the low ideals of those holding influential positions in religious affairs. The incentive to an educated ministry is absent: training is not necessary in order to be licensed, preferment does not depend upon it, congregations do not demand it.

There are of course many educated and capable men in the ministry. In spite of the liberal standards for admission there are many in the Baptist and Methodist fraternities, and Presbyterian and Congregational ministers are usually well trained. But the organizations with high standards and orderly service have a relatively small membership. The intellectual preacher does not appeal to the average church-going Negro who desires an emotional, not a reasoned, type of sermon. It is the "hallelujah" type of sermon that makes him "feel good" and the preacher who follows this traditional line of preaching is the one who fills the church with hearers.

The intelligent Negro religious leader is in a peculiarly difficult position. He must deal with various problems that ministers of white congregations may take for granted. Problems of church finance always exist. Money must be raised to meet the payments on the church debt, to pay the minister's salary, to support the denominational schools, and to meet the other regular and special church expenses. The preacher's ability to raise money is often a more important consideration than his piety, morality, or intelligence. To raise money it is essential that he attract and hold the crowd. He can hold them only by meeting their demands. This requires that he preach the

traditional type of sensational sermon that the uneducated "enjoy" and that he stress the spectacular elements of the church service—communion, baptism, and the like—rather than expound what lies behind the forms. He also faces a dilemma on the question of discipline. The best paying members are often individuals of questionable character and occupation. They must not be offended; many ministers find it necessary to cater to them thus endorsing or seeming to endorse the separation of religion and practical morality and reducing the stimulus that religious instruction might be to better living. The better type of ministers are often forced to abandon their standards in order to hold the membership. They must preach "effective" sermons rather than test the truth of propositions; they must make the congregation "feel good" before they can impress moral or religious truth. Even in the upper circles of Negro life the intellectual preacher cannot always compete with the emotional exhorter; the present cultural level of the mass of the congregations penalizes the minister with high intellectual and personal standards.

THE EMOTIONAL NATURE OF THE NEGRO RELIGIOUS SERVICE

Because of the great variation in practice, it is difficult accurately to describe in brief space the nature of the church service. The behavior differs, as it does in the white churches, with the ceremonial practices that characterize the organization. In some the procedure is orderly, dignified, formal, ritualistic; in other sects there is less of uniformity and more of freedom and spontaneity. Practice also differs with the individual congregations of the same denomination: some are quiet and reserved, others emotional and noisy. And within the same congregation the behavior differs with the occasion: the

group that is orderly and dignified at one time may be demonstrative and disorderly at another.

Among the more uneducated classes, the religion is a form of group expression and it affords frequently the only opportunity for individual recognition. Music is perhaps the outstanding feature; the services ordinarily begin with the congregational singing of hymns. Frequently no fixed program is adhered to and there is occasional confusion. Any member may start a hymn in which all presently join. There is a pronounced minor chord and the singing takes on a character between a dirge and a chant the psychological effect of which is marked and definite. The effect is deepened by the sermon which is nearly always weak on the intellectual side. There are long, extemporaneous prayers by the lay members. The ignorant Negro is frequently eloquent in prayer and the halting and less expert are stimulated and encouraged by the "amens," "praise the Lord," and other shouts of approval from the congregation. Prayer and testifying sometimes assume a competitive character. As the service progresses it becomes animated and the emotional tone rises. Even the ordinary service tends to be a highly emotional demonstration. By songs, prayers, preaching, shouting, and testimony individuals are stimulated to crowd frenzy and the service is punctuated by the hoarse, inarticulate cries of the emotionally disturbed. The physical accompaniments of religious hysteria—leaping, falling, frothing, jerking, and the like—are frequent. The services sometimes last for hours, the demonstration gradually subsiding with the physical exhaustion of the participants.

Religious excitement reaches its greatest development in the "revivals" of the Baptists and the "camp meetings" of the Methodists. These have always had a great appeal for the ignorant Negroes. Both are types of religious orgy ostensibly for the purpose of recruiting membership.

They are still in vogue among both the whites and Negroes in various sections of the country that are out of contact with the modern currents of thought. At the present time the camp meetings are largely confined to the Southern sections of the country where they tend to take on the character of an annual picnic with a religious element. They are generally held in the autumn when the harvest season is well over and are looked forward to for months before they occur. They are reunions. Families come from far and wide and remain camped for days or weeks in the vicinity of the preaching. It is an occasion for reunions, feasting, visiting, love-making, and gossip as well as for preaching and prayer. These camp meetings are commonly held under the auspices of the local clergy and congregations but special exhorters are brought in for the occasion. There is much singing and prayer. The preaching is commonly of a lurid and exaggerated type. "Experience" meetings and "testifying" are more or less continuous. It is a time of great emotional excitement—all come with the expectation that something spectacular will happen. The strange surroundings and crowd excitement increase the tension. The ignorant Negro is peculiarly susceptible and easily succumbs to the "jerks" and other physical exercises which are interpreted as expressions of the "spirit." These camp meetings are sometimes the scenes of gross immorality. The "revival meetings" featured by the Baptists are of a nature similar to the camp meetings. They are scenes of wild excitement in which susceptible individuals often fall helpless and semi-conscious, see strange visions, and later utter prophecies.

THE RELATION OF THE RELIGION TO THE MORAL LIFE

The emotional type of church worship has very little influence on the practical affairs of life; it is, indeed,

rather to be understood as a method of escape from the repressions of daily existence. The praying, shouting, singing, and exhortation often have no definite connection with individual morality. The Negroes came late into the religious system and, because of their church isolation, they have had no part in and have not kept pace with the modern movement that has made Christianity a system of moral practices and ethical ideals instead of a body of supernatural beliefs. Division between the churches is not theological, and ministers seldom preach denominational sermons. The ordinary church-going Negro accepts any doctrine without questioning and remains religious; the modern church has tended to become ethical. The church has probably been an influence in uplifting the race but it has been so because of the social nature of the institution and not because of its religious service and teachings. Its moral influence is often weak and stumbling.

Many individuals of the younger generation of educated Negroes have become ashamed of the primitive religious practices and are falling away from the emotional type of religion. In the cities especially, they conduct a quiet, reserved, and orderly service that differs in no essential respect from the type of service to be observed in the better white churches of the same denominations.

THE NEGRO CHURCH AS A SOCIAL CENTER

The Negro church is much more than merely an institution of worship. The strictly religious meetings are a small part of the weekly program of the ordinary church. It is a center around which a great part of the social and public life of the people revolves.

This has always been the case. Before the Emancipation meetings for any other purpose were commonly for-

bidden and the church, especially where there was a separate building and an exclusively Negro congregation, was the center of all activities. After the Emancipation the machinery came into the hands of the race and the churches, developing in accord with the racial standards and needs, assumed the functions normally belonging to other institutions which had not yet developed or had been suppressed. It was for a very long time the only institution in which the Negroes were free and which they could really call their own. In it all the social interests and aspirations of the people found expression.

It is still the center of the racial life. This is particularly the case in the villages and rural districts where the church building is the place of assembly for all public purposes. There are no club houses, theatres, parks, or other places of assembly or amusement and the church serves in the place of all. It reaches all conditions of life. The majority of Negroes are members; most of those not members are regular in their attendance. It is the center of information for the community; it functions as a newspaper. It is a place to see friends, hear the neighborhood gossip, meet strangers, carry on flirtations and courtship. Politicians and business and professional men depend upon their church membership, attendance, and activity to extend their acquaintance and increase their prestige. The pastor and his wife are social leaders whose good will must be courted by the social climbers. For those individuals who desire to rule, the church affords the best opportunity and it gives also the best chance for expression and public display. Funerals and weddings are held in the churches. Aside from the regular services the churches are generally open several and sometimes every night of the week. They are often in use in the afternoons and every holiday is the occasion for some special entertainment. There are many minor social or semi-religious organizations connected with the

church. It acts either directly or through one of its groups as a welfare agency and charity bureau to help the unfortunate, care for the sick, and bury the dead. It encourages musical and dramatic performances. It is the center of the organized hedonistic activities: social gatherings, suppers, picnics, and entertainments of all kinds take place in the church or are sponsored by it. Lectures and political meetings are held in the church and it is the place where all sorts of fakirs get a hearing.

It is however losing ground. This is to some extent a part of the general decline of religion resulting from the development of science and the spread of knowledge; the Negroes are being influenced to some extent by the spread of modern ideas. But there are other and more important reasons, chief of which is the development of new avenues of expression and amusement. In the larger towns the churches no longer have a monopoly on social resources. There are other meeting places and other means of amusement. There is better music to be heard outside of the church. Other men are better trained than the ministers and individuals no longer turn to the churchmen for information and instruction. Places of amusement are developing and with them the churches cannot compete. The fraternal and secret orders take much time formerly devoted to the church and they satisfy certain exhibitionist tendencies even better than the church activity. There is a growing distrust of the ministers and their motives even among the masses of the race and a growing tendency to restrict the sphere of their influence to religious affairs and so reduce the power of the church in racial life.

THE FUTURE OF THE NEGRO CHURCH

On the whole the church has probably been a factor in the advancement of the race and at present, in spite of

its character, is probably on the whole a power for good. The coöperative work on the group of problems centering about the building, financing, and management of the churches and the organization and management of the subsidiary organizations make for racial unity and has a socializing and civilizing influence quite independent of the value of the churches themselves.

The importance of religion in Negro life will of course decrease as the race advances in education. The influence of religious beliefs and practices is at its maximum among people of simple culture. They live in the midst of phenomena which they can control but imperfectly or not at all, and the varied facts of life and nature, incomprehensible to the untutored mind, are interpreted in terms of immediate experience—that is, in subjective terms. They thus create a philosophy, however crude and simple, in the effort to make intelligible the world of reality and people the world of nature with a host of malignant powers. The dangers which surround their existence, exaggerated by the imaginative constructions resulting from lack of control and inability to comprehend in natural terms, inspire fear and so create the need, more or less vaguely realized, for protection and guidance. The need generates the belief in protecting and guiding powers: everywhere men have created beneficent powers to preside over their life and destiny and to protect them from the natural dangers and from the malignant powers with which they have peopled nature. These beneficent and malignant demons with which the simple mind peoples nature are very real—that is, psychologically real—and exert a profound influence on personal behavior and group development. The simple man moves in an animistic world and gives much time and effort to the coercion and propitiation of the demon children of ignorance and fear. The importance of this type of activity will decline as the Negroes increase in education. The direct and

simple demonology becomes enriched and modified with the increase of knowledge, the character of the supernatural powers change with the needs of their creators, and the supernatural powers play a decreasing rôle as the accumulating body of culture facts gives an increasing control over the destructive forces and as science provides explanation and makes possible the manipulation of forces not previously understood.

Other elements are woven into the philosophical complex; the aspirations of men frequently become an integral part of the structure. The conditions of life are everywhere hard, human existence at its best is disappointing and unsatisfactory. The fundamental human wishes may be but partially and imperfectly realized. Unwilling or unable to accept the finality of objective reality, simple man is impelled to the creation of another world order and another reality free from the hardships and disappointments, the compulsions and repressions, of the crudely organized social life he knows. So long as the conditions of Negro life remain as they are, the masses will have resort to a realm of organized phantasy in which they may realize vicariously and in the full the wishes thwarted by the imperfections of the social order. The tendency to escape reality remains so long as individual experience is restricted and is powerful in proportion to the depth and extent of the unsatisfied needs.

Religion and the church will doubtless continue in the immediate future to play an important rôle in Negro life. The masses of the race are uneducated and the majority grossly ignorant and backward. So long as this condition prevails the continuance of magical forms of thought is inevitable. The hardships and restrictions of everyday life make it certain that the masses will continue to find solace in picturing a future existence free from the real and imaginary shortcomings of the present order. But

as the race advances in education and larger numbers come into the modern culture, the crude primitivity of belief and practice of the popular churches will tend to pass. The organizations elaborated in the service of the supernatural powers will of course remain as important instruments for achieving individual ends and as means of group expression long after the factors instrumental in their origin have passed out of the group philosophy.

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CHAPTER XIV

DELINQUENCY AND CRIME

NEGRO CRIMINALITY IN SLAVERY AND FREEDOM

Under the slave régime the Negroes were for the most part subject to the direct control of the owner and all minor offenses committed by the slaves were dealt with by the slave overseer or the master without reference to the courts. In some of the states the laws specifically delegated to the masters an absolute authority over their Negro slaves. In North Carolina, for example, they were empowered by statute to try all manner of offenses committed by slaves. Where such power was not specifically delegated, it was commonly assumed by the masters. Limitations were placed at various times on the authority of the owners but in general these had to do with such matters as the freeing or educating of slaves rather than with the master's control of delinquent behavior. In the case of major crimes the practice varied somewhat with different states, but in general murder, rioting, insurrection, and rape were dealt with by the courts rather than by the masters.

The general behavior of the Negro people, following the Civil War and the Emancipation, was as admirable as could be expected of any people in the circumstances; they were an unusually law-abiding group. But it was inevitable that many individuals should abuse their new freedom, and there was a sudden and great increase in the amount of Negro crime. The transition to the new status took place in the period of profound economic and social disorganization resulting from the war and political

chaos incident to the Reconstruction policies. As a natural reaction from forced labor and because of the disorganized state of economic organization, the Negroes in large numbers were idle and tended to be vagrant. As a result of habits formed in slavery, the freedmen committed innumerable petty thefts and other offenses. Both things brought them into contact with the criminal law administered in general, after the Reconstruction régime, by unfriendly courts. In the decades following the Emancipation there is no measure of the amount nor of the relative amount of Negro delinquency, but there was a rapid increase as the Negroes outgrew the restraining habits of servitude.

The amount of Negro crime in the decades following the Emancipation, as shown by the number of prisoners, was greatest in the Northern states where they lived for the most part in cities and where law and public sentiment were less tolerant of minor offenses committed by them. The amount of delinquency increased more rapidly in the North and in the cities as the migratory wanderings brought the freedmen into the new and strange surroundings. In 1870 there were 2,025 Negro prisoners in the Northern states and 6,031 in the Southern states. A decade later the number had increased to 3,774 in the Northern states and 12,973 in the Southern states. In 1890 the number in the Northern states was reported as 5,635; the number in the Southern states as 19,244. The relative excess of Negro prisoners in the North is appreciated only when the Negro population of the two sections is taken into account. For each 100,000 of the Negro population in 1870 there were in the Northern states 372 Negro prisoners and in the Southern states 136. Ten years later the number of Negro prisoners was 515 in the Northern and 221 in the Southern states; in 1890 the corresponding number had increased to 773 in the Northern and 284 in the Southern states.

THE CRIMINAL STATISTICS

The only general data with regard to crime rates in the United States come from the periodic figures of the Census Bureau. From time to time the Bureau has collected and published the statistics of the prison population and given figures in regard to the annual number of commitments. In 1910 the data covered some 3,271 institutions: 3 federal penitentiaries, 58 state prisons, 20 reformatories for adults or for adults and juveniles, 100 reformatories for juveniles only, 2,502 county jails, workhouses, and similar institutions, and 588 municipal jails or workhouses. These statistics include data in regard to the sex, age, race, nativity, marital condition of prisoners, illiteracy, occupation before commitment, offense for which convicted, and sentence.

It must be noted that these data are in regard to commitments to prisons and in regard to prison populations. They are therefore comparative statements of the number of each race convicted of crime, not a measure of crime itself. In only a minor fraction of cases where crimes are committed in the United States are the criminals apprehended and the great majority of those arrested fail of conviction. Consequently such figures as those of the Census Bureau must not be taken as a measure either of the number of crimes committed or of the relative amount of crime of different racial groups; they must be taken only for what they purport to be—prison commitments and prison population.

As an additional warning against accepting the figures of Negro crime as indicating more than they probably do indicate, the caution of the Census Bureau may be cited.

While these figures and those given in tables following will probably be generally accepted as indicating that there is more criminality and law breaking among Negroes than

among whites and while that conclusion is probably justified by the facts, it should be borne in mind that the difference between the two races in this respect may very well be less than the ratios based on the number of commitments to prison or jail would indicate. It is a question whether the difference shown by the ratios may not be to some extent the result of discrimination in the treatment of white and Negro offenders on the part of the community and the courts. An offense committed by a Negro is perhaps more likely to be punished than the same offense committed by a white man, especially if the victim of the offense committed by the Negro is white, while in the other case the victim is Negro. It is probable that as compared with the white man the Negro when brought on trial on a criminal charge is in fewer instances able to employ expert counsel to defend his case and assist him in taking advantage of any technicalities in the law which may be in his favor. Moreover, in the case of those offenses for which the penalty may be a fine with imprisonment as the alternative if the fine is not paid, it is probable that the Negro is more often unable to pay the fine than the white man and is therefore more likely to be sent to jail; but of course this consideration has little weight in connection with the more serious offenses which are seldom penalized by fines only. On the other hand, it is not improbable that many of the minor offenses committed by Negroes and not directly affecting white people are more likely to be disregarded by the officers of the law than are the same offenses committed by the whites. Although these are questions on which no statistical data can be presented and in regard to which opinions may differ, it seems proper to call attention to them as representing possibilities which ought to be considered before accepting the record of prison commitments as an accurate measure of the difference between the two races in respect to criminality. It must always be borne in mind that the amount of crime punished in different classes or communities may not bear a fixed or unvarying ratio to the amount of crime committed.

THE NEGRO PRISON POPULATION OF THE UNITED STATES

On the first day of January, 1910, the total prison population of the United States was 136,472, of whom 93,841 were whites and 41,729 were Negroes. The Negro prisoners constituted 30.6 per cent of the total prison population though on that day they constituted only 10.7 per cent of the general population. The ratio of prisoners per 100,000 of the population was 148.4. For the white population it was 114.6, while for the Negro population it was 424.6.

The percentage of Negro prisoners and juvenile delinquents is greater than that for all the whites in all of the age groups except the higher ones. Of the total prison and juvenile delinquent population from 15 to 25 years of age, the Negroes composed about one-third; of those in the age group from 25 to 35 years, they composed about one-eighth; while in the age groups over 45 years, they composed somewhat less than one-twelfth. This decrease in the older age groups appears to be accounted for in large part by the fact that a very large part of the total number of commitments in the older age groups are for drunkenness, vagrancy, and disorderly conduct, while the percentage of Negroes committed for these offenses is below the average for the population.

In the age groups under fifteen years about one-fifth of the prisoners are Negroes. This is much smaller than the proportion in the age groups from 15 to 34 years. This smaller proportion among the Negro juvenile delinquents seems to be due to the fact that Negroes in larger proportion than whites live in communities where there are no juvenile reformatories. In the absence of such institutions, juvenile offenders are more likely to be allowed to remain at large. The establishment of such institutions tends to increase the number of commitments since they provide care for offenders considered too young

to justify a jail or prison sentence. Another fact of importance in the same connection is that a large percentage of juvenile cases are truancy cases. But this offense does not exist in the absence of compulsory school attendance laws. In the communities where the larger percentage of the Negroes live there is an absence of compulsory school laws and so the offense of truancy does not exist.

In the distribution of the prison population by sex there is a preponderance of males: the percentage of females is relatively low for each race. In 1910 the total number of prisoners and juvenile delinquents enumerated was 136,472, of whom 124,424 were males and 12,048 were females. Of the total enumeration 93,841 were white, of whom 85,218 were males and 8,623 were females. Of the total of 41,729 Negroes enumerated, 38,346 were male and 3,383 were females. The percentage of female prisoners was thus slightly higher in the case of white than of Negro women. In the total prison and juvenile delinquent population enumerated there were 91.2 males and 8.8 females in each 100. In each 100 white prisoners enumerated, 90.8 were male and 9.2 were female; in each 100 Negro prisoners enumerated 91.9 were male and 8.1 were female. Of each 100 prisoners in the total prison population 68.8 were white and 30.6 were Negroes. Of the male population enumerated 68.5 per cent were white and 30.8 were Negro; of the female population enumerated 71.6 were white and 28.1 were Negro.

In every section of the country the percentage of Negroes among prisoners and juvenile delinquents was much higher than their percentage in the general population. For the country as a whole the Negroes constituted 10.7 per cent of the total population, while they constituted 30.6 per cent of the prison population. In the South they made up 29.8 per cent of the population and 70.1 per cent of the prisoners; in the North they were

1.8 per cent of the population and 13.1 per cent of the prisoners; in the West 0.7 per cent of the population and 5.9 per cent of the prisoners. In the United States Penitentiaries 31.3 per cent of the prisoners were Negroes.

NEGRO COMMITMENTS TO PRISON

A similar though less pronounced disproportion between the races appears when comparison is made of the commitments to prison. During the year 1910, 493,934 persons were committed to prisons or reformatories in the United States. Of this number 382,052 or 77.3 per cent were white and 108,268 or 21.9 per cent were Negroes. The total number of commitments per 100,000 of the total population was 537.0. For the total white population the number of commitments was 467.4; for the total Negro population it was 1,101.7.

In all the age groups except the higher ones the percentage of Negroes committed to prisons and juvenile reformatories was above their percentage in the general population. For all age groups they comprised 21.9 per cent of all commitments though they composed but 10.7 per cent of the country's population. The difference between the races is relatively small in the period of childhood but increases with each year of life up to the age of 16. In the age period from 16 to 24 the ratio of commitments for Negroes is about four times that of the whites; in the age periods from 25 to 34 years it is a little less than three times; and in the age groups from 35 to 44 years it is about one and one-half times as great. After the age of 44 years the ratio of commitments is below that of the whites. A notable difference between the two races is that the age periods of highest commitment are markedly lower in the Negro group; the age period of highest commitment for the whites is 35 to 44 years; that for the Negroes is 21 to 24. After about

the age of 45 the number of commitments of Negroes falls slightly below their percentage in the general population.

The contrast between the sexes in the number of commitments is much greater in the white than in the Negro group. The following tabulation shows the number of commitments by race and sex for the year 1900.

COMMITMENTS TO PRISON BY RACE AND SEX IN 1910

	Total	*Negro*	*White*
Both sexes	493,934	108,268	382,052
Male	445,368	87,598	354,367
Female	48,566	20,670	27,685

Of the total number of commitments 90.2 per cent were males and 9.8 per cent were females. Of the total number of Negroes committed 80.9 per cent were males and 19.1 per cent were females. Of the total white commitments 92.8 per cent were males and 7.2 per cent were females. In the case of white commitments the ratio of men to women was approximately 13 to 1; in the case of Negroes the ratio of men to women was about 4 to 1. In the total commitments for the year 77.3 per cent were whites and 21.9 per cent were Negroes. But of the total number of commitments of males 79.6 per cent were white and 19.7 per cent were Negroes, while of the total number of commitments of women only 57.0 were white and 42.6 per cent were Negroes.

As indicated by the number of commitments, the Negro crime rate is much higher in the North and West than in the South.

Per 10,000 of the Negro population, the commitments were 88 in the South, 283 in the North, and 366 in the West. In other words, the Negro is three times more likely in the North and four times more likely in the

West to be committed to prison than he is in the South.

Several factors enter into an explanation of these differences; in the Northern and Western sections of the country a very high percentage of the Negro population lives in cities, a large proportion of them are in the age groups where the crime tendency is greatest. The Negroes are less well adjusted to the economic and social conditions of the North and there is in these sections a somewhat less tolerant attitude toward the petty offenses of the Negroes than exists in the Southern sections of the country.

In general, the commitments to jail and prison are more frequent relatively to the population in the North than in the South. This is true for both whites and Negroes. For the whole of the United States the ratio of commitments for Negroes is about two and one-half times that for the whites. But since the Negroes are chiefly a Southern population the relatively low rate of commitments in the South has more influence in lowering the ratio for the United States in the case of Negroes than in the case of whites. Consequently, the real contrast between the Negroes and whites in the frequency of commitments does not appear in the United States figures. With few exceptions the contrast is more marked in divisions and states. In the South the ratio for Negroes is 3.4 that for whites. In the North it is 5.6 and in the West 4.5. In some of the states the contrast is yet more striking. In North Carolina it is 6.7, Kentucky 7.8, Indiana 9.0, Illinois 7.2, Iowa 7.6, Missouri 8.0, Kansas 11.0 and other Northern states 11.2.

A comparison of the percentage of Negroes in the prison population on a given date with the number of commitments during the year shows clearly that the term of imprisonment of Negroes is well above the average sentence for all prisoners.

PERCENTAGE OF NEGROES IN PRISON POPULATION: 1910

	In Total Population	*Among Prisoners and Juvenile Delinquents*	
		Enumerated Jan. 1, 1910	*Committed During Year*
United States	10.7	30.6	21.9
The South	29.8	70.1	58.9
South Atlantic	33.7	72.0	61.6
East South Central	31.5	73.1	63.6
West South Central	22.6	62.4	46.0
The North	1.8	13.1	9.6
New England	1.0	4.6	2.6
Middle Atlantic	2.2	12.8	9.4
East North Central	1.6	14.7	11.0
West North Central	2.1	20.8	14.4
The West	0.7	5.9	3.2
Mountain	0.8	7.8	4.4
Pacific	0.7	4.6	2.5
U. S. Penitentiaries	—	31.3	24.6

While the Negro crime rate, as indicated by the commitments, is three to four times that of the whites, it is considerably lower than that of certain other groups in the population. In 1904 the commitments per 1,000 for certain nationalities were: Mexican 4.7, Italian 4.4, Austrian 3.6, French 3.4, Canadian 3.0, Russian 2.8, Poles 2.7, and the Negroes 2.7.

THE CRIMINAL OFFENSES OF NEGROES

The percentage of Negroes among offenders becomes high when only the major crimes are considered. Of the total commitments for all offenses in 1910, the Negroes constituted slightly more than one-fifth, but their percentages among persons committed for grave homicide were over one-half. Of the persons committed for lesser homicide 49.0 per cent were Negroes, and they furnished

41.1 per cent of the total number of commitments for assault. Of the total number of commitments for prostitution, fornication, robbery, and burglary the Negroes furnished about one-third.

The difference between the races is less marked in the case of drunkenness and disorderly conduct than for other offenses. The ratio of commitments per 100,000 population was 267.8 for the whites and 424.9 for the Negroes—a rate 1.6 greater for the Negroes than for the whites, while in the total of offenses the ratio of the Negroes was 3.4 times that of the whites. The similar thing is true in the figures of each section and division: the coefficient of difference between the races is always less for drunkenness and disorderly conduct than for other offenses.

When male offenders are classified according to race, the Negroes have the highest percentage in the more serious crimes. Of the 944 males convicted in 1910 of grave homicide, 526 or 55.7 per cent were Negroes. For lesser homicide the percentage of Negroes was 47.6 and for assault the percentage was 38.4. For other offenses of less serious import, the percentage of Negroes among the male offenders was relatively low; for drunkenness and disorderly conduct, 13.1; for vagrancy, 14.3; for forgery, 14.2; and for offenses peculiar to children, 9.7.

The percentage of Negroes among female offenders is higher than among the male offenders and this is particularly true of the more serious offenses. Above 70 per cent of the 110 women convicted of homicide in 1910 were Negroes. Of those committed for assault 80.3 per cent were Negroes; of those committed for larceny 58.5 per cent were Negroes. With the exception of the group of offenses peculiar to children, the percentage of Negroes is lowest in the commitments of women for prostitution and fornication.

In the case of all offenses except those peculiar to

children, the ratio of commitments is higher for Negroes than for whites of the same sex. The difference is much greater for females than for males. Eleven times as many Negro women as white women are committed for larceny, but for the more serious offense of assault the number is thirty-three times as great. The excess of Negroes in the commitments for serious offenses is probably due in some part to the fact that it is easier to convict a Negro than a white person of a serious offense.

In the total number of commitments for any offense the percentage of Negroes is largest in the South where their percentage of the total population is greatest. In grave homicide, for example, the percentage of Negroes in the total number of commitments was 56.0 for the United States, but it was 8.5 in the West, 26.1 in the North, and 74.4 in the South. The offenses that show a relatively high percentage of Negro offenders in the South also show a similar relatively high percentage of Negro offenders in other sections. In both the North and the South the percentage of Negroes committed was high for grave homicide, robbery, and assault and low for forgery, fraud, drunkenness and disorderly conduct, malicious mischief and trespass, and offenses peculiar to children.

RAPE AND OFFENSES AGAINST WOMEN

There is a very widespread belief that the Negro people are peculiarly prone to commit sex offenses—there has even come to be a very general idea that this crime is, if not peculiar to the Negro, at least more characteristic of this group than of others.

In 1910 there was a total of 1,480 persons committed for rape in the United States. Of these 380 or 25.7 per cent were Negroes. This percentage is between two and three times their percentage in the total population, not greatly above their percentage of commitments for all crimes,

21.9, and much below their percentage of conviction for other offenses: for grave homicide, 56.0; for lesser homicide, 49.0; for assault, 41.1; for robbery, 33.3; for burglary 30.5. For a number of other offenses their percentage of the total convictions is in excess of their commitments for rape. In the South 247 of a total of 372 commitments for rape were Negroes. This was 66.4 per cent of those committed. This is higher but not markedly higher than the percentage of Negroes in commitments for all offenses in the South—58.9. It is lower than the percentage of Negroes in commitments in the South for grave homicide (74.4), lesser homicide (67.6), assault (76.2), robbery (71.8), burglary (68.8), and larceny (72.5). In the North the total commitments for rape numbered 955. Of these 122 or 12.8 per cent were Negroes. Here again the percentage of Negroes among the number committed was below their percentage in the groups convicted of half a dozen other serious crimes. In the West of a total of 144 commitments for rape six were Negroes—4.2 per cent of the total. And here again their percentage was higher among the commitments for other serious crimes than for the crime of rape.

That the Negroes are probably not excessively criminal in this respect seems to be borne out by a comparison with other nationalistic groups in the United States. The following table gives the number of commitments for rape per 100,000 of the total population for 1904.

COMMITMENTS FOR RAPE PER 100,000 POPULATION IN 1904

Whites	0.6	Austrians	3.2
Colored	1.8	Hungarians	2.0
Italians	5.3	French	1.9
Mexicans	4.8	Russians	1.9

Of those committed to prison for major offenses in 1904, the per cent committed for rape was, for different nationalities, as follows:

PERCENTAGE OF COMMITMENTS FOR RAPE IN THE MAJOR OFFENSES: 1904

Colored	1.9	Canadians	3.0
Whites	2.3	Russians	3.0
Foreign Whites	2.6	French	3.1
Irish	1.3	Austrians	4.2
Germans	1.8	Italians	4.4
Poles	2.1	Hungarians	4.7
Mexicans	2.7		

Other evidence seems to be fairly in keeping with the facts here shown. So far as the available statistical evidence goes it gives no support for the general idea that the Negro people are peculiarly prone to commit crimes of this nature. It is by no means the most important in the list of Negro crimes and in a comparison of nationalistic groups the Negroes are among the lowest groups. It must, however, be remembered that offenses of this nature when the victim is a Negro woman are little likely to come before the courts.

THE COMPARATIVE LENGTH OF PRISON SENTENCES

The punishment meted out to Negro offenders is characteristically more severe than that of white offenders. They are committed to prison more frequently and receive longer sentences for similar offenses.

In 1910 there were 130 offenders sentenced to death in the United States. Of this number 49 or 37.7 per cent were Negroes. The percentage of Negroes who received prison sentences of over one year was about three times as high as the percentage of the white commitments. In 1900 approximately one-third of all Negroes committed to prison received sentences of one year or more; of the white commitments for the same year less than ten per cent received sentences of one year or more. The percentage distribution of Negro and white commit-

ments under sentence of imprisonment only for the year 1910 appears in the following tabulation.

COMPARISON OF PRISON SENTENCES BY TERM OF COMMITMENTS: 1910

Length of Sentence	*Percentage Distribution*	
	Negro	*White*
Total	100.0	100.0
Life	1.7	0.2
One year and over	28.3	8.2
Less than one year	58.8	74.3
During minority	4.5	5.6
Indeterminate	5.9	11.2
Not reported	0.7	0.4

Of the total number of persons sentenced for one year or longer 40.9 per cent were Negroes, while of those sentenced to terms of less than one year only 13.4 were Negroes. This difference is in part sectional rather than racial. In the South where the bulk of the Negroes reside the proportion of long prison sentences for both races is greater than in the North. This, however, does not explain the entire difference for within the same section and state the percentage of Negroes among those committed for long terms is greater than among those sentenced for short terms, and the percentage of Negroes increases as the length of the term of imprisonment increases.

The same tendency towards greater severity in the treatment of the Negro offender appears in cases punished by fine or by fine and imprisonment. In 1910 the sentence of fine and imprisonment was imposed upon 11 per cent of the Negro offenders and upon 7.8 per cent of the white offenders. A smaller per cent of Negroes than of whites are convicted of minor offenses. If a fine without prison sentence is imposed the Negroes, because of lower economic status, are less frequently able to pay the

fine, so more frequently committed to jail. In 1910, the percentage of Negroes imprisoned for nonpayment of fine comprised 62.7 per cent of the total number of Negro commitments as against 54.6 per cent of the total number of white commitments. This high rate of imprisonment for nonpayment of fine reflects Southern conditions, such court practice being more common there than elsewhere for both races.

The approximate average length of sentence in months for Negro and white prisoners and juvenile delinquents sentenced for definite terms in 1910 was as follows.

AVERAGE LENGTH OF SENTENCE IN MONTHS OF NEGRO AND WHITE COMMITMENTS IN 1910

Divisions	*Negro*	*White*
United States	17.4	5.2
The South		
South Atlantic	15.4	9.6
East South Central	31.7	16.2
West South Central	29.7	25.3
The North		
New England	4.7	3.5
Middle Atlantic	4.9	3.3
East North Central	17.7	4.8
West North Central	9.1	4.5
The West		
Mountain	5.1	6.2
Pacific	11.8	6.5

NEGRO CRIMINALITY BY SEX

The percentage of women in the commitments of prisoners and juvenile delinquents is much higher among Negroes than among whites. Of the total number sentenced in 1910 the sex ratio was approximately four men to one woman; in the case of whites 7.2 per cent of the commitments were of women, a ratio of about 13 to 1. In the total of female commitments, therefore, the propor-

tion of Negroes is relatively high: in 1910 of the total of female prisoners 42.6 per cent were Negroes; of the total number of male commitments, the Negroes were 19.7 per cent. A similar, though less marked, contrast exists in the prison population.

The higher percentage of colored women holds for all age groups though more pronounced in the younger ages. The greatest contrast is in the ages from 18 to 24 inclusive. In this age group the ratio of males is three to four times as great for the Negro as for the white while the ratio of females is eleven to sixteen times as great for colored as for white women. The racial difference is generally greater in the North.

The differences as regards race and sex ratios of commitments and prison population are probably in large part the outcome of variation in the average term of imprisonment. The average time is greater for Negro males than for white males but is less for colored than for white women. Negro women appear to be guilty of less grave offenses than white women and more given to petty offenses. The opposite appears to be the case of males; the proportion of major offenders being greater among the Negro than among the white. The absence of reformatories for Negro women is a factor of some importance in accounting for the race differences; the relative number committed to reformatories is considerably larger for whites than for Negroes.

THE APPARENT EXCESS OF NEGRO CRIMINALITY

From every angle, the general statistics seem to indicate a greater amount of criminality on the part of the Negro than of the white element of the population. Their ratio of commitments to prisons and penal and reformatory institutions is out of proportion to their ratio in the general population. They likewise constitute a dispro-

portionately large part of the prison population, and the excess is especially great in the group incarcerated for major offenses. The general opinion that the Negroes are a highly criminal element of the population would thus appear to be proven by the statistics of criminality.

There are, however, several important facts of a qualifying nature that must be taken into account. The statistical information is very misleading; it reflects a good deal of the bias of popular opinion.

Rightly or wrongly, the race in America is believed to be highly criminal and this general belief functions to increase both the number of offenses and the appearance of excessive criminality. Because of the belief there is a tendency to exaggerate whatever basis of fact may exist in support of the belief. The popular idea is fostered by the white press. Crime always has a news value. It is to be expected that news items which coincide with traditional beliefs will get into print; the news value of a crime story is enhanced by the fact that the criminal is a Negro, and it receives additional space and prominence because of that fact. In giving publicity to crimes, the fact of race is exploited for its news value just as is the fact of nationality when the criminal happens to be of foreign birth or parentage, and as is the fact of sex in case the offender is a woman, and as is age when the offender is very young or very old. These details add to the news value of the story. There is always a tendency to assume and believe the familiar and the expected. The reporters, usually with the same beliefs and prejudices as the newspaper public, see and report facts of race and the display of these facts in news items serves to reinforce the popular idea that Negroes are peculiarly criminal. The impression is further fixed by the fact that so few other Negro activities get into the white papers. It is probably true, also, that the number of articles on Negro crime in the daily press is greater, relatively, for the Negroes

than for other groups in the population; because of the popular belief, they have, other things equal, greater news value and so are more likely to be featured. The press thus caters to the general belief and the general belief is in turn reinforced by the stories in the press. There is in consequence a vicious circle: a tradition of Negro crime, the deliberate or unintentional selection of news, the confirmation of the popular belief.

The diametrically opposite news situation appears in the Negro press. Crimes committed by white men especially where Negroes are the victims are featured: they have great news value. Their publication confirms the beliefs already held by the readers and increases the news value of other such crimes.

Some part of the apparent excessive criminalty of the Negro people finds its explanation in police discrimination. The police and police officers charged with the duty of preventing crime and apprehending criminals are in nearly all cases white men who share in the general idea that the Negroes are highly criminal. As a consequence they are very frequently arrested on suspicion and they are more frequently held on slender evidence. This is especially true in the case of Negro women. There is little danger of disagreeable consequences if mistakes are made. This attitude on the part of the police power tends to swell the number of arrests and, through humiliating the victims and destroying their self-respect, to increase the amount of crime. Such police discriminations are more general in the Northern than in the Southern communities where petty offenses on the part of the Negroes are expected and tolerated rather than punished.

The Negro offenders meet the same bias when they appear for trial. The judge, the jurors, the court officials, and others who deal with the accused in the various stages from the arrest to the final conviction or acquittal are white men and in general share in the prevailing conception

of the Negro people. That there is such a bias is not always recognized and is sometimes categorically denied. Where the existence of bias is not recognized and systematically discounted, the idea of an impartial trial is little more than a legal fiction.

It requires less evidence to convict a Negro than to convict a white man accused of the same crime. This differential treatment before the courts is a constant factor tending to increase the number of Negro convicts and it is an important factor in explanation of the fact that the excess of Negroes is greatest in the group of more serious crimes.

That justice is not meted out alike to black and white in the courts is rather freely and generally admitted. The only question is concerning the amount of injustice that the Negroes suffer in this respect. General statement is difficult because of the variation in different situations. When the population is nearly all white the Negro offender is likely to receive scant consideration; he is likely to receive a severe penalty for a relatively trivial offense. In the sections where the population is largely white there is generally some approximation to an even-handed justice unless the interests of the white and black are in conflict.

In the regions where the Negroes are a large part of the population they are likely to get more just treatment from the court, while white men ordinarily escape punishment for offences in proportion to their family connections, business standings, or political influence. The situation also varies with the specific local situation; judges are elected for short terms and are subservient to the opinion of the electorate.

THE CAUSES OF NEGRO CRIMINALITY

Aside from the question of the excess of criminality on the part of Negroes as compared with the whites—

the question of whether the disproportionate number of commitments indicates greater criminality or merely discrimination and differential treatment—is that of the cause of such criminality as the group actually erupts. Whether or not the amount of crime is excessive, as compared with other groups in the population, its causal explanation lies in the social situation and this must needs be understood if any approximately adequate means of control are to be evolved. The Negro population is very unevenly distributed and offences are in large degree determined by local conditions.

Some part of the explanation of the crime rate shown by the statistics lies without doubt in the social traits of the Negro people themselves. In very considerable part they are still ill-adjusted to the secondary and highly individualistic nature of present-day American life. Their relatively recent status of servitude with the degradation of personality incident thereto is reflected in the crime rates as in other social phenomena characteristic of the group. Neither the attitudes of mind nor the type of personality developed under a régime of repression fits the person for free life. The group still shows a deplorable lack of thrift. Ideas of private property are frequently loose; there is a great amount of petty pilfering. The percentage of individuals who are unreliable in any capacity is very high. The bonds of family life among large numbers of the race are weak and sexual looseness is very common. All of these things and others, understandable in terms of previous condition and present status, result in bringing numbers of the race afoul the criminal law.

The very general assumption that the Negro is criminal by nature and particularly inclined to crimes of violence is probably without basis in fact. There are of course numerous Negro criminals, probably Negroes who are criminals in the sense of being especially predisposed to

certain behavior or conspicuously lacking in a normal power of inhibition. It is possible that the percentage of Negro individuals with defects likely to bring them into conflict with the criminal law may be higher than the percentage of such individuals in other groups, but there is no body of evidence adequate to justify such hypothesis. Aside from defective individuals, who may be more numerous than in other groups, there is no reason to believe that the Negro people are peculiarly predisposed to criminal behavior. Criminally inclined individuals are a very small part of the race, in spite of the fact that in the conception of many persons the Negro criminal is the typical Negro. Such publicity has been given to crimes committed by certain Negroes that the race is credited with them and regarded as being composed chiefly of criminals. The intense fear that so many white women have of all Negroes frequently leads to wrong accusations, and accident or ignorance on the part of Negroes is sometimes distorted into offenses of criminal intent.

A fact that accounts for a considerable item of Negro criminality is the Negro's fear of the white man. Rightly or wrongly, there is a very general belief among the Negro people that the Negro accused of crime cannot hope to receive fair treatment from police or the courts. In certain sections he is denied all political rights and feels that he has no adequate protection in either law or custom. The attempt to enforce a double standard of justice gives rise to an attitude of resentment. The existence of such a social attitude gives certain assurance to the criminal Negro that he will be shielded by his fellows whenever it is possible for them to do so. In the situation, the person who dares to violate the laws made and enforced by the white man is often looked upon as representing the spirit of racial protest and aggressiveness, and becomes a romantic figure warring against the white man's society.

The convict lease system, a modified form of slavery elsewhere described, operates to increase the Negro's skeptical attitude toward the white man's justice. Prison labor is sold to private persons who work the convicts for profit. The punishment for criminal acts is thus a means to public and private revenue rather than a social effort to reform criminals or prevent crime. The Negroes look upon the system as an additional type of oppression and exploitation devised by the dominant race for their own purposes. Peonage and debt slavery are means of securing cheap and steady labor. The system operates to an increase in criminality. A sentence to the chain gang makes the Negro victim a hardened offender and increases the fear and resentment of the Negroes.

It is frequently asserted that the continued agitation for Negro rights carried on by many individuals and organizations is responsible for much Negro crime. This is probably true. Certain individuals in lodges, churches, and other groups foment strife between the Negroes and their white neighbors. Others operating through the press and by means of pamphlets preach a doctrine of hate and talk of appeals to force. It is not possible to state how much effect the preaching of racial antagonism has upon the volume of Negro crime but certainly its influence is not negligible. It sometimes results in exaggerated ideas of personal rights. It makes for restlessness and discontent, increases dissatisfaction with existing economic and social conditions, adds to the suspiciousness in regard to the honesty of the dominant race, and makes for a certain solidarity of race. All of this may very well incite individuals to lawless acts and cause other persons to sympathize and protect violators of the law. But it differs in no essential respect from agitation and protest on the part of other groups and concerning other evils and reflects in part the general American attitude of lawlessness. If agitation is a cause of criminality the situa-

tion lies easily within the control of any community; agitation can flourish only in the presence of evils that call for removal.

There is nowhere any adequate provision made for the segregation and proper care of feeble-minded and otherwise defective Negroes. In the United States there are only a few hundred feeble-minded Negro children in special institutions. In general it is only the helpless and idiotic who are turned over to the public authorities; the great majority of the mentally defective remain at large. This failure adequately to restrain and segregate the defectives explains many crimes committed by members of the race. The absence of institutions for the care and training of neglected children allows numberless young persons to become habituated to vicious surroundings and drift into a life of crime.

Some part of Negro criminality is a more or less direct outgrowth of the racial prejudice of the whites. They are debarred from many occupations, denied the right to live outside certain restricted areas, and not allowed to participate freely in the civic and social life. The method of enforcing this caste system is often such as to break down the morale and destroy the self-respect of the Negro people. It is assumed and expected that they will be vicious and criminal. So long as the Negroes feel that their guaranteed rights and privileges are not recognized nor respected and so long as they are publicly and privately discriminated against, because of race and color, they will be discontented and resentful.

Where race prejudice enters the industrial field it contributes to Negro criminality by debarring them from opportunity to earn an honest living. This factor is of greater importance in the North than in the South. They are commonly excluded from the labor unions. Employers rarely consider them for any except unskilled labor. Even the Negro of education often finds difficulty

in securing employment as a skilled workman. The effect of these restrictions is to force the Negroes into underpaid and undesirable occupations, and increase the competition and lower the wage in these limited fields. The poverty, low wages, and lack of accumulated property contribute to crime. The direct relation is indicated for example by the fact that there was a decrease in the Negro crime rate in Chicago during the prosperity of the war period. To the extent that race prejudice keeps the Negro men from lucrative employment, the women are forced into work away from home and their children left without oversight. Almost half of the bread winners of the race are women. An inevitable result is that colored children, being neglected, swell the number of juvenile delinquents. The race prejudice and discrimination as well as the highly social disposition of the Negro results in segregating them in one part of the city. As a result of their poverty this is always an undesirable section. Their housing conditions are poor, crowded and unsanitary. Their surroundings are usually vicious; the houses of prostitution are in most cases either in or adjacent to the Negro settlement. On the principle that an individual is profoundly affected by his immediate environment it follows that some part of the criminality of the Negro is a more or less direct result of the color prejudice.

Negro illiteracy is probably a contributing factor in Negro crime. The great ignorance of the adults makes anything like proper control and training of children impossible. There is no reason to believe that Negro children are more criminal in inclination than other children. But the lack of home training and the lack of parental control are conducive to delinquency and crime. The untrained parents do not understand how properly to govern the child and in many instances are too ignorant to recognize or impart any clear distinction between right and wrong in the ordinary affairs of life. As a result

children grow up without training in self-control and without any intelligent appreciation of the prevailing moral values. The Negro writers frequently emphasize the general ignorance of the group in explanation of the excessive amount of delinquency and complain of the whites for encouraging ignorance and subserviency instead of intelligence, ambition, and independence.

Crime is certainly as much a matter of delinquent communities as of individual perversity. Whether of white or Negro, of juvenile or adult, it is a form of community disease. The neglect to provide adequate and proper facilities for the care and training of the young is of course the community dereliction that explains most crime, and the degree of that dereliction is reflected in comparative crime rates. The same forces are at work among the Negroes. But in many cases at least the causes are more active among them than among the other groups, especially the native elements of our population. Their education and training is less; their poverty is greater and consequently their housing and living conditions are more deplorable; there is less provision made for caring for colored defectives; they are in a more or less unstable condition because they have been but lately given freedom and many of them, especially in the cities and in the North, are in a new and strange environment; they are discriminated against socially and industrially; they are often abused by the police; and sometimes, at least, not fairly treated by the courts.

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CHAPTER XV

CRIMES AGAINST THE NEGRO

INTRODUCTORY STATEMENT

Any treatment of Negro criminality would be incomplete which did not comprehend some discussion of the criminal activity of which the Negro is made the victim. In other connections attention is called to the denial, by formal legal or informal extra-legal means, of the exercise of the franchise; to the public acquiescence in measures which provide inferior educational facilities for the Negro children and so retard individuals in their efforts to acquire the essentials of Western culture; to the restrictions placed by state law, municipal ordinance, or mob rule upon the Negro's choice of residence; to the public or quasi-public interference with or restriction upon his freedom of mobility; to the public toleration of legal or extra-legal devices by which his industrial efficiency is hampered and his vital power economically exploited; and to the denial of various other personal, social, and civil rights specifically guaranteed by the constitution and federal laws or plainly implied in any adequate conception of a democratic social order. Some of these things clearly fall within the concept of crime, even in the narrow legalistic definition of crime as an act in violation of the law, and their discussion might with propriety be included in the present chapter. But the criminal aspect of a differential racial treatment in civil and social activities is incidental to such conditions and discussion from that point of view frequently obscures and always gives an inade-

quate comprehension of the problems involved and of the conditions necessary to their resolution. They have, therefore, been given treatment in connection with the fundamental social and economic conditions to which they are incident and the present chapter restricted to a consideration of individual and mass behavior directed against the person or property of unprotected and defenseless individuals and groups. This behavior, of course, like the discriminatory treatment in civic affairs, is a function of the racial situation and a symptom of profound social disorders and might, likewise, be treated incidentally. But the phenomena are sufficiently distinct and unified, and sufficiently notorious and menacing, to call for and justify separate treatment. The phenomena of interracial conflict, which falls without the realm of ordinary police control and assumes the aspect of racial warfare, is treated in a subsequent chapter.

THE NUMBER OF LYNCHINGS IN THE UNITED STATES

The number of persons done to death in the United States each year by mobs and self-appointed discipline committees can be stated with only approximate accuracy. The statistics are based chiefly upon newspaper reports and it cannot be known how many such occurrences escape the news gatherers or, if known to the reporters, fail of publication. Certainly some illegal killings escape publicity in the press. And of such happenings reported, we may not be certain that all come to the attention of the students of such statistics. The collectors of lynching statistics, as a Negro editor rather shrewdly pointed out, have generally been "more interested in the race problem than in historical accuracy" and have given chief attention to securing a complete tabulation of such crimes against the Negro and in the South. Similar crimes in other sections and against persons of other races are per-

haps somewhat less completely reported. It is quite certain that the statistics understate and possibly very greatly understate the number of lynchings.

There are at present three chief sources of lynching statistics. Since 1885 a Chicago newspaper has kept a record of such killings as have been reported in its news columns. Beginning at a little later date, Tuskegee Institute has made a systematic collection and tabulation of similar data. Since 1912 the National Association for the Advancement of the Colored People has kept an independent record of lynchings. There is some discrepancy in the figures as given by these organizations. In 1914, for example, Tuskegee Institute reported 52 lynchings for the year, the *Chicago Tribune* reported 54, and the *Crisis*, the official organ of the National Association for the Advancement of the Colored People, gave the number as 74. The variation is due in part to different conceptions of what constitutes a lynching, but the possibility of minor inaccuracy in the figures themselves must be recognized.

According to the records of the newspaper mentioned above, the total number of lynchings in the forty-year period is something over four thousand. According to the figures published by the National Association for the Advancement of the Colored People, approximately 3,500 persons have been killed by lynching mobs since 1889, exclusive of the victims of the Atlanta, Georgia, the East St. Louis, Illinois, and other race riots. The number reported by Tuskegee is given in the table on page 368 by years and by the race of the victim.

Women and girls as well as men and boys have been the victims of lynching mobs. Of the 702 white persons lynched in the thirty-year period, 1889-1918, eleven were women and 691 were men. Of the 2,522 Negroes lynched during the same period, fifty were women and 2,472 were men. There were 61 women lynched during this period, 11 of whom were white and 50 colored. With the excep-

NUMBER OF PERSONS LYNCHED IN THE UNITED STATES: 1885-1924

Year	*Whites*	*Negroes*	*Total*
1885	106	78	188
1886	67	71	134
1887	42	80	122
1888	47	95	142
1889	81	95	176
1890	37	90	127
1891	71	121	192
1892	100	155	255
1893	46	154	200
1894	56	134	190
1895	59	112	171
1896	51	80	131
1897	44	122	166
1898	25	102	127
1899	23	84	107
1900	8	107	115
1901	28	107	135
1902	10	86	96
1903	18	86	104
1904	4	83	87
1905	5	61	66
1906	8	64	72
1907	3	60	63
1908	7	93	100
1909	14	73	87
1910	9	65	74
1911	8	63	71
1912	4	60	64
1913	1	51	52
1914	3	49	52
1915	13	54	67
1916	4	50	54
1917	2	36	38
1918	4	60	54
1919	7	76	83
1920	8	53	61
1921	5	59	64
1922	6	51	57
1923	4	29	33
1924	—	16	16
Total	1038	3165	4203

tion of one white woman killed in Nebraska, all the women lynched were the victims of Southern mobs.

During the period covered by the statistics there has been a fairly regular decrease in the annual number of

mob killings. In the decade 1885 to 1894 there were 1,726 persons lynched in the United States, a yearly average of over 172. In the following decade the total was 1,239; in the decade ending in 1914 the total was 701; and in the last decade the number was 537, an average for the ten years of about one killing a week. The decrease is shown in the following table by five year periods.

LYNCHINGS BY FIVE-YEAR PERIODS: 1885-1924

Years	*Total Number*	*Yearly Average*
1885–1889	762	152.4
1890–1894	964	192.8
1895–1899	702	140.4
1900–1904	537	107.4
1905–1909	388	77.6
1910–1914	313	62.6
1915–1919	306	61.0
1920–1924	231	46.2

The decrease in the lynching practice has been characteristic of all sections of the country but it has been more marked and rapid in the Northern and Western than in the Southern sections of the country. There has also been a more marked decline in lynching of white men than in the lynching of Negroes.

THE GEOGRAPHIC DISTRIBUTION OF LYNCHINGS

In the recent decades the great majority of the lynchings in the United States have been in the states of the South. It is possible that the statistics bearing upon this sectional distribution are somewhat biased because of the wider newspaper publicity given to mob violence in the South and to the more complete records, but the regional contrast is too great and too consistently maintained to leave any doubt concerning the general fact. In 1921

there were sixty-four persons lynched in the United States. Of this number sixty-three, all except one, were in the South. In the list Mississippi led with fourteen cases. Georgia was second with eleven. Texas was third with seven. Arkansas and Florida each had six; South Carolina and Louisiana had five each: North Carolina had four; Alabama had two; and Tennessee, Virginia, and Missouri each had one. In 1922 there were 57 lynchings all in the South; the 33 lynchings reported in 1923 were all in Southern states, and in 1924, all but one of the cases reported were in Southern states.

Of the total of 3,224 lynchings reported from 1889 to 1918 inclusive, 219 were in the North, 2,834 were in the South, 156 were in the West, and 4 were in Alaska. In 11 cases the records were incomplete as to the locality in which the lynching occurred. Of the lynchings in the South, 826 were in the South Atlantic, 1,014 in the East

LYNCHINGS BY STATES

State	*Number*	*State*	*Number*
Mississippi	505	New Mexico	34
Georgia	498	Arizona	31
Texas	461	Illinois	31
Louisiana	375	South Dakota	29
Alabama	339	Maryland	28
Arkansas	285	Washington	27
Florida	246	Idaho	25
Tennessee	238	Ohio	19
Kentucky	210	Oregon	19
Oklahoma	161	Iowa	18
South Carolina	160	Nevada	12
Missouri	114	North Dakota	11
Virginia	100	Minnesota	9
North Carolina	91	Michigan	8
Montana	53	Wisconsin	6
West Virginia	49	Pennsylvania	6
Indiana	48	Utah	5
California	48	Maine	3
Colorado	48	New York	2
Nebraska	46	Delaware	1
Kansas	46	Connecticut	1
Wyoming	45	New Jersey	1

South Central, and 958 in the West South Central, states. During this thirty year period over eighty-five per cent of the lynchings were in nine states.

In the years from 1882 to 1924 inclusive there were a total of 4,492 lynchings reported in the United States. The distribution by states is given on page 370.

LYNCHINGS BY THE CAUSES ASCRIBED

Any classification of lynchings with attempt to assign specific causes is of necessity superficial. In practice it is generally an effort to shift the responsibility for the lynching crime from the criminals to the victim of the mob. Such procedure also involves a grave error of method but one which is common to most social statistics. As will be pointed out more adequately presently the specific offense of which the person is accused or guilty is the occasion rather than the cause of the mob action. It is at most a single element in the causal complex, never in itself an efficient cause. Consequently, any tabulation in terms of reason assigned, while it may have some value as an indication of the frequency of certain offenses, gives no real explanation of the killings.

The list of causes assigned in justification or explanation of lynchings includes everything from major crimes to trivial offenses. In many cases no offense at all can be cited. In 1921 five whites were lynched: four for murder and one for rape. Two Negro women were lynched the same year: one charged with assisting in the escape of a criminal, the other with inciting racial trouble. Of the fifty-seven Negro men lynched during the year, eleven were charged with murder and three with attempted murder, fifteen with rape and three with attempted rape, four were charged with being guilty of killing men in altercation. Four were charged with wounding men, two with furnishing ammunition to a man resisting arrest, and

two with being leaders in a race clash. One was lynched for assisting an accused criminal to escape. One victim was accused of having made improper remarks to a woman. One Negro was lynched for having threatened to kill another. One was lynched for having entered a young woman's room, one for insulting a woman, one for writing a note to a woman, and one for having attacked a man and woman. In three cases there was no charge reported against the victims.

Among the list of offenses of which white men have been guilty or accused and for which they have suffered at the hands of lynching mobs are the following: miscegenation, seduction, incest, elopement, wife beating, cruelty, kidnapping, disorderly conduct, being a disreputable character, prospective elopement, saloon keeping, being obnoxious, illicit distilling, being a revenue informer, swindling, turning state's evidence, refusing to turn state's evidence, protecting a Negro, fraud, arousing political prejudice, mob indignation, arresting a miner, aiding in the escape of a murderer, being suspected of killing cattle.

The list of offenses charged against Negroes who have been lynched include jilting a girl, insulting women, writing a letter to a white woman, asking a white woman in marriage, elopement with a white girl, paying attention to a white girl, grave robbery, slander, wife beating, circulating scandals, voodooism, conjuring, self-defense, resisting assault, resisting arrest, for having threatened political exposures, to prevent his giving evidence, giving evidence, refusing to give evidence, testifying for one of his own race, cutting levees, poisoning wells, stock poisoning, poisoning horses, writing insulting letters, insults, supposed offense, slapping a child, being disreputable, incendiary language, quarrelling, making threats, being troublesome, conspiracy, giving information, shooting an officer, swindling, gambling, drunkenness, fraud, passing counterfeit money, violation of contract, keeping a gamb-

ling house, quarrel over profit sharing, lawlessness, throwing stones, concealing a criminal, felony, forcing white boy to commit crime, rioting, strike rioting, turning state's evidence, political troubles, unpopularity, bad reputation, criminal abortion, enticing servant away, introducing smallpox, running quarantine, disobeying ferry regulations, inflammatory language, kidnapping, colonizing Negroes, suing whites, testifying against whites, wrong man lynched.

Obviously attempts at the classification of any such miscellaneous array of alleged offenses will show considerable variation. There is first a difficulty in choosing a satisfactory and reasonably limited set of categories for classification and, once the categories are decided upon, the further difficulty of determining where any particular alleged offense should appear in the scheme. The classification used by the Tuskegee Institute is a seven-fold grouping into homicide, felonious assault, rape, attempted rape, robbery and theft, insults to white persons, and all other causes. On this basis of classification the lynchings known to the Institute are classified in the table on page 374 for each year since 1889. The table includes both the white and the Negro victims.

In the list of offenses most frequently cited in explanation of the mob action, murder stands first. When the figures for this offense are combined with those given under the caption "felonious assaults" over one-third of the cases are included.

Second in importance from the point of view of the number of cases is rape. But the figures give very little support to the popular belief that lynchings are a manifestation of popular fury resulting from attacks upon women. Such attacks are, of course, a frequent occasion for mob action but they are not the only nor the most usual reason assigned for the killings. Of the sixteen lynchings reported in 1924 seven were for assaults on women; in the

LYNCHINGS IN THE UNITED STATES BY CAUSE ASCRIBED: 1889-1924

Year	*Homicide*	*Felonious Assault*	*Rape*	*Attempted Rape*	*Robbery and Theft*	*Insult to White Persons*	*All Other Cases*
1889	51	5	34	4	19	—	63
1890	25	2	26	2	5	—	67
1891	52	2	38	2	28	—	70
1892	88	4	37	12	38	2	74
1893	56	2	34	4	10	2	92
1894	73	2	42	10	16	6	41
1895	71	1	29	13	20	1	36
1896	42	9	29	6	14	—	31
1897	68	5	25	9	23	2	34
1898	74	5	11	7	8	2	20
1899	56	—	5	6	6	—	34
1900	43	10	18	13	7	—	24
1901	48	9	21	8	21	1	27
1902	43	7	19	11	1	—	15
1903	53	8	16	7	—	1	19
1904	36	4	14	6	1	2	24
1905	34	4	15	4	2	—	7
1906	24	7	16	14	1	1	9
1907	20	7	13	11	4	1	7
1908	50	10	14	6	4	3	32
1909	28	12	3	18	1	3	5
1910	38	6	16	8	2	2	2
1911	37	4	9	6	1	4	10
1912	37	6	10	2	1	3	5
1913	20	11	5	5	2	1	8
1914	30	8	6	1	1	—	6
1915	26	10	11	—	9	3	8
1916	20	7	3	9	8	2	5
1917	6	2	7	5	2	2	14
1918	28	2	10	6	2	—	16
1919	28	3	9	10	1	6	26
1920	22	9	15	3	—	3	9
1921	19	7	16	3	—	3	16
1922	15	5	14	5	4	2	12
1923	5	5	6	1	1	1	14
1924	4	2	5	2	—	3	—
Total	1360	202	601	239	263	62	882

previous year seven of the thirty-three victims of the mob were charged with rape or attempted rape. In the total number of cases from 1889 to 1924 the number charged

with rape or attempted rape is reported as 840, something less than one-quarter of the entire number. It is a more usual cause in the lynching of Negroes than in the lynching of whites—approximately a twelfth of the white persons lynched have been accused of rape or attacks upon women; of the Negro victims between one-quarter and one-third are charged with attacks upon women. In some cases the persons lynched are guilty of both rape and murder. It is possible that in some of the cases where murder is assigned as the cause of the mob action rape may also have been committed or attempted and the popular action be as fairly assignable to the one act as to the other. It is probable that the figures somewhat understate the importance of attacks on women as a cause of lynchings. Cutler, however, could not discover that more than thirty-four per cent of the Negroes lynched in the South in the twenty-two years covered by his investigation had either attempted or been accused of this offense.

Lynchings ascribed to other causes than murder and felonious assault or to rape and attacks upon women are of small numerical importance, and this is notably the case since the passing of the frontier. Where other causes are given in explanation of the mob action, it is commonly safe to assume that the victim was put to death for some reason other than the particular offense mentioned.

THE METHODS OF LYNCHING MOBS

In the majority of lynchings the victims have been put to death by hanging or by shooting or by both. But other methods, sometimes of a most brutal nature, are employed, and where death finally results from hanging or shooting the victims have frequently been subjected to most barbarous treatment before being killed. In some

cases barbarously refined methods of torture have been employed.

Of the sixty-four persons lynched in 1921, four were burned to death and the bodies of three others were burned after they had been killed. In 1922 eighteen were hanged, sixteen were shot to death, eight were burned alive, two were shot and burned, two were tortured and drowned, one was hanged and burned, one was drowned, and one was beaten to death. The manner in which eleven others died was not reported.

There appears to be no relation between the crime of which the person is accused or of which he is guilty and the method of killing selected by the mobs. Of the four persons burned to death in 1921, two were charged with murder and two were charged with rape. But as the practice of lynching continues there is some evidence that the methods employed by the mobs tend to become more brutal and the torture of the victim before death to be more usual.

THE EXPLANATION OF AND THE APOLOGIES FOR THE LYNCHING PRACTICE

The popular reaction to the lynching of Negroes runs the whole gamut from bitter denunciation of the practice and abusive indictments of whole populations of regions where such crimes occur to ingenious defense of the practice and blatant justification of the criminal mobs and of the community conditions which generate them.

The explanations offered in excuse and apology are numerous and more or less conflicting. The general tenor of such explanations is an effort to shift the responsibility from the mob and the community conditions which give rise to mob action to the victim on whom the mob members vent their fear and hate. The practice is said to be necessary in order to control the vicious elements of the

race. Many persons are sincere in the belief that Negroes can be controlled only by fear; that periodic lynchings terrorize them, so are effective as a means of control.

This view, in spite of its general acceptance, has little evidence in its support. Lynchings probably operate to increase rather than to decrease crime. The mob spectacles give wide publicity to crimes committed, so act suggestively to incite others to similar types of behavior. They increase the bitterness and hatred of the race whose members are the victims of mob action and lead to the concealment of offenders and to reprisals when opportunity offers. On the other side the lawlessness tends to spread: lynching for one offense leads to lynching for others, and the practice of killing Negroes is presently extended to include other persons feared or disliked.

The claim is frequently made that lynching mobs are composed of the ignorant and socially depressed classes of the community or that they are formed from the irresponsible elements of the society and that they do not represent community sentiment. It does not appear possible, however, to discover any such relation. There is no relation between the amount of illiteracy and the number of lynchings when comparison is made between counties in the South: they are not confined to the backward regions so far as illiteracy is a measure of backwardness. The opposite statement, frequently made by Negro writers, that lynch law is administered by responsible and comparatively prominent men is equally incapable of proof.

Another familiar apologetic explanation of lynchings is that they are due at least in part to the slow administration of justice and to the possibilities of delay and appeal, and to the danger of administrative clemency and pardon in case conviction is secured. At an earlier time and in a frontier condition such facts did obtain and this explanation had some basis in fact. But at the present time, and particularly in the South where such mob crimes are

most frequent, the explanation does not explain: there are no such delays and no such dangers.

A closely related type of explanation is that there is difficulty in securing conviction and that this accounts for the action of mobs. There is danger that the person accused will be freed, will not receive a sentence commensurate with the seriousness of the crime as it appears to the popular mind. A special circumstance of similar import appears when the offender is accused of attack upon a white woman. In such cases a legal trial and conviction would involve a humiliating ordeal for the woman; to avoid the necessity of such ordeal, the mob visits summary punishment upon the criminal.

This order of explanation is not convincing in regard to serious crimes committed by Negroes in the South. The law and the administration of the law are in the hands of the whites and may be made as severe and administered with as much dispatch as desired. The trial judge is white as is also the prosecution, the jury, and probably the defense attorney. That there will in these circumstances be a miscarriage of justice because of undue clemency is a possibility too remote for consideration. And the idea that the criminal mob is motivated by a fastidiously chivalric attitude toward woman is a thing that does not fall, and may not be brought, within the orbit of serious discussion.

Another position is to the effect that certain crimes are abhorrent to all persons and provoke characteristic reactions. The common assertion that lynchings, especially of Negroes in the South, are provoked by crimes against women is the typical form of this explanation. Such crimes, when white women are the object of attack by Negro men, arouse great popular indignation; the mob behavior is the effort of an outraged community to punish by extra-legal means the person guilty of an atrocious crime. In an outburst of passion the community brushes

aside the technicalities and delays of the law but carries out the law's intent. Lynching apologists, on the basis of such interpretation, have defended the practice as a vindication of justice and as a protection of civilization.

There is some element of truth in explanation of this type. Some mob killings in this and other countries are best and perhaps only to be understood as the more or less spontaneous reaction of an outraged community. But the practice of lynching cannot be accounted for in these terms nor can any considerable number of individual cases. The position, which tacitly assumes that attacks upon women are the chief or only cause of lynchings, loses its chief element of plausibility when it is brought against the fact that in only one lynching in three is the victim guilty or even accused of offenses against white women. The explanation appears to be an unwarranted generalization from a few isolated and relatively exceptional cases.

It would not be profitable to continue the detailed investigation of explanations of the lynching practice. The defense of the practice and the apologies that undertake to explain the practice and shift the responsibility by pointing the criminality of the Negro miss the point as do also the press denunciations which follow such events. Neither defense nor denunciation is of value in understanding the phenomena and so are without value from the point of view of control.

THE HISTORY OF LYNCHING IN THE UNITED STATES

In the early history of the country there was a vast amount of lawlessness and a frequent resort to summary and extra-legal methods of control. The settlers, especially in the back country, made use of any measures that seemed to them expedient in dealing with the Indians, and public sentiment was such that white persons were not

punished for murder or other crimes when the victims were Indians. Summary measures were employed in dealing with criminals and other undesirable characters. The absence of adequate and efficient legal machinery as well as the difficulty, expense, and delays involved in bringing criminals from remote settlements for trial encouraged the frontiersmen to take the law into their own hands. In some places organized and more or less permanent bodies grew up and assumed responsibility for the suppression of crime; robbers, horse-thieves, and other disreputable characters were commonly dealt with by committees and groups of citizens banded together for the protection of the community. Summary measures were also used to suppress behavior contrary to the code of the border country but not recognized as criminal by the law: individuals were sometimes disciplined for failure to pay debts, for starting law suits, and other behavior deemed unnecessary and socially injurious. These summary methods were carried westward as the frontier advanced.

The punishment administered by the vigilance committees commonly took the form of flogging, sometimes with great severity, and banishment from the community. Killing was unusual except in the case of Indians guilty of offenses against the whites and of outlaws guilty of major crimes.

In the Revolutionary period the social conditions were such as to encourage the frequent resort to extra-legal methods of redressing grievances. It was a period of great popular excitement in which the civil authorities lost the respect and support of the people. Tories, British sympathizers, persons not in sympathy with the American cause, tea commissioners and consigners, customs informers, importers of British goods, and various other persons in popular disfavor were frequently made the subjects of popular discipline. The use of tar and feathers

came to be a characteristic popular punishment considered peculiarly appropriate for Tories and others who aroused popular indignation by expressing sentiments deemed injurious to the American cause. But other kinds of punishment were also employed, particularly flogging and banishment and capital punishment was sometimes inflicted by citizen committees.

After the Revolution, summary punishment of offenders fell into disuse in the older settled regions. But the weakness of the civil government and the general inadequacy of civil regulations on the frontier made the border country a retreat for horse thieves, counterfeiters, robbers, and other lawless persons. The presence of these persons, in the weakness of civil regulations, gave an excuse and a justification for lynch law: it was necessary to curb the vicious and the lawless. Summary measures were commonly taken in particular emergencies though in some places there were more or less permanently organized committees prepared to act when any emergency should arise. In various of the back country settlements infested with lawless persons and where the civil authorities were weak and could not be relied upon to apprehend criminals and bring them to justice the frontier type of summary justice continued to the end of the century and was justified or condoned on the ground of necessity.

During most of the period Negroes were seldom lynched or otherwise disciplined by the community. The slaves were under the control of their owners and all ordinary discipline of unruly individuals was at the discretion of the masters. Runaway and other unruly Negroes were sometimes whipped by the authorities but there was a powerful economic force operating to protect the life and vital force of the slaves. Those who came into contact with the community disciplinary committees were chiefly the free Negroes and mulattoes who were numerous in

some of the colonies and who were in some cases idle, vicious, and disorderly persons.

In the period of anti-slavery agitation there was a revival of lynching and a spread of the practice throughout the country; from a temporary expedient of border communities inadequately protected by the civil authorities, it became a common practice in regions where the civil authority was adequate to cope with the lawless element. The society was undergoing rapid reorganization and the social and political disorder of the time was conducive to the spread of violence. The spirit of the times favored it. Some part of the apparent increase was no doubt due to improved communication and more complete newspaper report; much lawlessness of earlier periods did not come to general attention. But there was also a real increase in lawlessness and a more frequent resort to lynch law. With the revival there was also a change in the character of the practice; whipping and expulsion from the community were frequently supplemented or replaced by capital punishment of the offenders.

The abortive slave insurrection led by Nat Turner was an item of some importance in the revival of lynch law in the older settled regions. It was the first instance of open rebellion among the slaves in the United States and was marked by the indiscriminate massacre of all white persons who came within the reach of the revolting Negroes. The rebellion was promptly suppressed and with severity not less frightful than the atrocities committed by the slaves.

The whole country was thrown into a state of panic. Especially in the South, popular fears were roused to such a point that quite innocuous behavior came to be looked upon as a major offense. If the law did not reach such behavior that in itself became a reason for and justification of summary procedure. The fears aroused did not subside: the danger of slave insurrections and the massa-

cre of the whites became an obsession of the Southern mind. The flood of incendiary publications let loose by the anti-slavery agitators increased the fears of the Southern whites and made for increased lawlessness. No punishment was severe enough for an abolitionist. Anyone suspected of tampering with the slaves, inducing them to run away, or guilty of distributing "incendiary tracts" was whipped or tarred and feathered, sometimes both, and driven out of the community. Crimes committed by Negroes were visited with great severity; the illegal execution of Negroes became common. In a number of cases Negro criminals were burned. Those suspected of conspiracy to raise insurrections were caught up and summarily punished, sometimes by death. White persons leagued with the Negroes or engaged or believed to be engaged in organizing the blacks suffered a like treatment. Other unpopular individuals were subjected to lawless discipline.

While occasionally victimized by lynch law, the mob killing of Negroes was not a common practice and they did not make up any considerable percentage of the persons lynched. They were valuable pieces of property; the death of an able-bodied slave was a considerable economic loss. Consequently they were killed only in case of real or supposed conspiracy against the whites or for participating in insurrection. In general the Negroes who were guilty of the murder of their masters, mistresses, or overseers or guilty of assault on white women were dealt with by legal means. In the following decade there was an increase in the use of summary methods: in the ten year period 1850-1860 twenty-five slaves were legally executed and thirty-eight killed by mobs. Twenty of the legal killings were for the crime of murder and five for attacks on white women. Of the thirty-eight illegal executions twenty-six were for murder and twelve for attacks on white women. Two of those killed by mobs were women

and twelve of the thirty-eight were burned to death. The sentiment of the South was favorable to lynching: the generality of Southern newspapers of the time either excused or openly advocated the practice.

After the Civil War the South was over-run by discharged soldiers, a great body of men thoroughly demoralized as a result of army life. The economic, social, and political life was disorganized and the freed Negroes were often idle and sometimes disorderly. There was a long period of disorder and lawlessness in which the Ku Klux Klan had a prominent part. The habit of summary treatment of Negroes remained after the disappearance of these lawless bands and the restoration of the civil government.

THE FUNDAMENTAL FACTORS INVOLVED IN THE PRACTICE

The foregoing sketch makes it apparent that lynchings fall into three fairly distinct groups.

The visitation of summary and extra-legal punishment on persons guilty or thought to be guilty of behavior contrary to the traditions and mores of the group is found among all peoples and in all times. Brutal, revolting, and unusual crimes occasionally arouse the passions of law-observing citizens to the point of mob action resulting in the injury or death of the offender. Among all peoples, offenses against the security of the group, treason, frequently leads to the administration of popular punishment. The violation of white women, rape, in recent times in the countries of white European civilization, often incites the populace to run amuck. The particular behavior that arouses the passions of men is not the same in all times and places, but given a condition of popular excitement mobs form and occasionally destroy offending individuals. There are also sporadic cases of punishment by mobs of persons for whose punishment

under the law little tangible evidence can be adduced, and of persons whose offenses are of such a nature that legal penalties are inapplicable.

Another type of popular justice administered by extra-legal means makes its appearance in situations where the social organization is incomplete or disorganized and the processes of law are, in consequence, uncertain and subject to unreasonable delay. In the frontier type of society where civil government is weak and inefficient, citizens have often had resort to rough and ready modes of police control and mob administered justice as a means of protection against lawlessness and criminality. With the disappearance of the frontier conditions and the growth of efficient civil government able to apprehend criminals and secure property and maintain peace, and with the establishment of criminal courts effective in the execution of the law, the need for extra-legal means of protection disappears and popular tribunals and popular justice give way to civil and legal processes.

At the present time most lynchings do not fall into either of the foregoing groups. They are not manifestations of border law: they are acts in violation of law rather than efforts to establish or preserve order. They occur in old settled regions where the law is established and the machinery for its administration adequate and where both the administration and the execution of the law are in the hands of the groups guilty of its violation. Nor are they sporadic and spontaneous outbursts of popular passion in the presence of atrocious and revolting crimes. As previously pointed out, the offense of the victim carries no explanation of and frequently bears no discoverable relation to the criminal behavior of the mob. They are peculiar to America and the South: in no other non-barbarous country do men carry on man hunts or take criminals from jails or from officers of the law to administer mob punishment.

The practice reflects a social situation comprehending two imperfectly accommodated racial groups and a characteristically American conception of law and order. Any adequate explanation of lynching must take into account the two distinct and separately derived groups of social factors—the American attitude toward law and the white Southerner's racial attitude—operating in a bi-racial situation.

In the American South there is a deep-seated and all-pervading fear of the Negro. One source of this fear is the treatment that the Negro has received at the hands of the whites. The slavery of the Negro, his economic and industrial exploitation, his moral degradation, and other historic facts of the Southern situation are fundamentally repugnant to civilized moral standards. The members of the dominant racial group are more or less conscious of the injustice that the Negro has suffered at their hands. There is in consequence an uneasy sense of moral guilt, as may be seen reflected in the rationalized justifications of the historic treatment and of the existing social situation as well as in the naïve apologies for behavior not defensible on accepted moral standards. By a familiar psychological process sentiments and attitudes that the non-socially trained persons imagine that they would have had they been subjected to similar treatment are imputed to the Negro and the Negro thereby becomes possessed of behavior tendencies menacing to the white man, to his domination of the social situation, and to the culture he represents. This fear complex, having a taproot in a treatment of the defenseless group that cannot be made to square with the civilized moral code, functions to create an external image which objectifies the psychological state; the Negro becomes the objective symbol of that subjective state rather than an objective social reality.

Fears having their origin in the misuse of the subordi-

nate group are reinforced by others of a somewhat more direct and immediate nature whose source and origin roots in the shifting economic relations of the races. Habituated to the Negro in the capacity of a menial, and dependent upon his labor to insure a satisfaction of the fundamental human wish for security as well as to provide a milieu conducive to a satisfaction of the wish for recognition, the members of the dominant race are stirred by grave fears of personal and social disaster as the economic and industrial development of the Negroes tends to bring profound changes in the traditional status of the racial groups. Such changes seem to foretell a situation in which the Negro will be a competitor instead of a servant of the white man. This would mean a profound change in the social order established by the white man and operated for his comfort and profit. Any threatened disturbance in a prevailing social order generates uneasiness and fear: the unknown is always a source of real or possible danger. But in the racial situation of the South, change is fraught with special danger and the popular fear reactions are correspondingly intense. There are many individuals who fear that the economic advance of the Negroes would disturb profoundly the customary economic adjustments of the races. The general economic advance of the Negroes and the disappearance of the caste order based on skin color would inevitably increase individual economic competition in which the competent would tend to rise and the incompetent would tend to fall quite regardless of color of skin or previous social status.

To these more or less vague, unanalyzed, and inarticulate fears which provide a background for much of the Southern rationalizing on race relations, must be added more specific and concrete fears fostered by politicians and other persons who stand to profit by an intense and active racial animosity. The incendiary propaganda carried on by various Negro nationalistic groups further

localizes the racial fear and gives it a tangible and concrete basis.

An inevitable corollary and necessary consequence of the chronic fear tension is a hatred of the Negro. Fear is painful and the persistence of the painful state generates a wish to destroy the fear object. Moreover, the presence of a misused person is a perpetual reminder of conduct in violation of the customary moral standards and such an irritant becomes an object of aversion and hatred. It is not meant to imply that the psychological process is recognized in this crude objective way. On the contrary, the mental processes operate to conceal the process and justify the aversion. Crime, dirt, vice, and the like are unlovely things, and they are things that it is easily possible to associate with and accept as characteristic of Negroes. And it is easy, perhaps inevitable, that an aversion for the Negro having its real explanation in other facts should be explained and justified in terms of alleged Negro characteristics.

This fear-hate complex is supported by a group of social attitudes commonly included under the phrase race prejudice. As previously pointed out, race prejudice is chiefly a matter of status. The Negro as an inferior and docile person is accepted and in individual cases may even be the recipient of some degree of genuine affection, but in any relation other than that of conspicuous inferiority the Negro becomes an object of active hostility.

This complex of racial attitudes lies at the basis of all crimes against the Negro. The particular offense of the Negro is not a matter of consequence: the racial antagonism is always ready to express itself in overt activity. The occasion calling out the expression is a matter of accident.

But racial prejudice not unlike that prevailing in the American South exists in other places where divergent races and contrasted cultures are brought together in the

same political situation. Since the lynching is limited to the one environment it is obvious that racial prejudice alone is not an adequate explanation of the practice.

The second factor necessary in a causal explanation is the general American attitude toward law and legal control. There is here an absence of reverence and respect for law and legal procedure such as exists in European countries where the statute law is in major part the articulate and formal expression of established custom and ancient folk practice. It is administered with a dignity unknown to American procedure and by officials whose individuality is largely sunk in their representative capacity and who are not directly answerable to the community in which they administer the law. Moreover, there is a uniform enforcement of the law throughout the country; an enforcement that is not controlled by political considerations. In the American conception law is merely a device for arriving at certain objectives. There is no reverence for the law as such and no respect for the law. It is a thing to be used when its use may be employed for personal ends, a thing to be observed when observation is less personally expensive than violation, and a thing to be violated or defied when violation is personally profitable. To circumvent the law is not only not offensive, it is the most lucrative form of professional service. Violation of law is more usual than observance, and is not infrequently a source of distinction. An unpopular law is commonly violated with impunity and the degree of enforcement of any law varies with public sentiment and local political expediency. The people consider themselves above the law: they make laws and break them, and they elect judicial and administrative officers who enforce the law when it is considered politically expedient to do so.

The co-existence of the two groups of attitudes gives a situation in which lynching can flourish. The racial attitudes, in appropriate situations, tend to express them-

selves in violence against the Negro. Such behavior is normally inhibited by a complex of co-existing attitudes which comprehend respect for law and fear of legal consequences. In the absence of a group of attitudes inhibiting lawless action the logical consequences of the racial attitudes appear. The practice of lynching Negroes is thus to be understood as a result of racial antagonism in the absence of a controlling law-abiding attitude.

THE EFFORTS MADE TO CONTROL LYNCHING

In many of the states at the present time the public sentiment against mob law is such that racial hatred rarely expresses itself in mob action. That some effort is being made to create a similar sentiment against the practice in other states is evident from the number of formal resolutions adopted by religious, educational, and other bodies representing the responsible, intelligent, and self-respecting elements of the population, as well as from the general tenor of editorials on mob killings.

The general sentiment is well reflected in the debate and discussion relative to federal legislation on the subject. The Dyer anti-lynching bill was introduced in the Congress in 1920. It provided a heavy fine or imprisonment for officers of the law proven negligent in their duty of protecting prisoners and long terms of imprisonment for members of criminal mobs as well as a heavy forfeit from the county or counties in which lynchings occur. The bill passed the House in 1922 but was defeated in the Senate.

Several states have passed laws defining punishment for individuals participating in lynchings. The Kentucky Legislature passed such a law in 1920 providing not only for the punishment of individuals participating in mob activity but for the removal from office of officers permitting a prisoner to be lynched or injured by a mob.

In the following year laws with similar intent were passed in North Carolina, West Virginia, and Minnesota. The South Carolina law makes the county in which a lynching occurs liable for damages. Anti-lynching laws were passed by the New Jersey and Pennsylvania Legislatures in 1923. Similar legislation has been recommended by the governors or introduced into the Legislatures of Missouri, Arkansas and Texas without, however, being enacted into law.

Such laws, while they indicate the drift of public sentiment, are in general without great influence on the practice itself. When the sentiment of a community favors lynching the laws are difficult or impossible of enforcement. It is often impossible to indict since the grand juries make little sincere effort to discover evidence even though the identity of criminals may be known and acknowledged. When facts upon which action may be based are discovered, conviction is generally impossible; individuals are acquitted in spite of conclusive evidence of guilt.

Measures designed to penalize the communities in which lynchings occur promise to be far more effective in limiting the practice than are the laws designed to punish mob members or the officers negligent in the protection of prisoners. They tend to put the responsibility where it properly belongs. If there are persons and groups in a society ready to commit such acts of violence it is because the society makes or tolerates conditions that produce such persons. Their ideas, prejudices, and criminal tendencies are the result of the environmental training and education that the society provides. The society is responsible for the individual or group acts of violence that are an expression of the social conditions and the social creed.

If the efforts to prevent crimes against the Negroes are to rise above the level of the police methods commonly advocated, they must bring about a change in the general racial attitude. Whatever operates to lessen the

prejudice of the white people or to develop a law-abiding attitude will decrease the abuse of the Negroes and the frequency of mob action. Lynchings will also decrease with an increase in the ability and disposition of the Negroes to protect themselves from mob violence.

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CHAPTER XVI

THE GROWTH OF RACE CONSCIOUSNESS

THE PSYCHOLOGY OF INFERIORITY

An outstanding fact in the recent social evolution of the American Negro people has been the tendency toward segregation and the formation of more or less compact groups. The residential and institutional separations are expressions as well as causes of the more fundamental sentimental unity that has been slowly evolving during the period of freedom. Even before the Emancipation there was some vague feeling of group unity resulting from the similarity of race and status as well as from association and common interests. In freedom, reacting to the social policies and practices of the dominant white group and to a vigorous and persistent propaganda, the race conscious attitude gradually developed and came presently to dominate the thinking of a large segment of the group. The use made of the Negroes in the European War, their organization into separate units under Negro officers, gave a new impetus to the movement. In the present decade under the stimulation of race-conscious Negro leaders the masses are becoming imbued with the spirit and taking on the form of an oppressed nationality.

An oppressed nationality psychosis is perhaps an inevitable expression of the social situation in which the race has been placed. Any natural group that is isolated, regardless of the nature or the cause of the isolation, tends to develop a provincial unity in the struggle for recognition and self-respect. If discrimination, repression, or

persecution be added to the fact of separateness, the solidarity of the group is strengthened; it becomes self-conscious and compensates for inferior status by unconsciously exaggerating the significance of whatever cultural elements it may possess. The exclusion of the group may result in the first instance from its cultural retardation. But the militantly self-conscious group is wholly incapable of an objective evaluation of its comparative cultural worth. The grievances which such a group come to cherish may be and indeed frequently are partly or wholly imaginary, and when real may be a consequence of the behavior resulting from the persecution psychosis rather than its immediate cause.

The members of such a group, in the presence of real or fancied discrimination, become hypersensitive. Their comprehension of the social situation is partial and their definition biased. The balking of the fundamental desire for recognition centers attention upon themselves and the indifferent, secondary, and impersonal contacts of daily life are translated into personal terms. There is a chip always on the shoulder. The body of social opinion becomes negative, frequently a mere reversal of the prevailing consensus. Reacting to real or imaginary hostility, they become violent and abusive or withdraw from contacts, retire within their own group and endeavor to make it self sufficient. In either case an elaborate body of compensatory doctrine is fabricated in the effort to achieve self-respect; unsupported opinions and beliefs come to be held with the greatest emotional certitude. The group becomes impervious to facts conflicting with this emotional complex; it tends to react negatively to all suggestions having their origin in the dominant group. In the situation many of the behavior reactions of the nationalistic folk become unintelligible in terms of the social psychology of normal groups.

The limitations which the social situation places upon

personal behavior thwart, in numerous cases, a normal expression of the fundamental wishes and generate a restlessness that frequently gets expression in diverse and fantastic ways. From the restraints of daily life and the restrictions of status there is a swing to the opposite extreme; from servility there is, with a removal of restrictions, a swing to exaggerated and bumptious self-assertion. There is a tendency to compensate for the lack of power and prestige by oratory and other forms of exhibitionism. The black Christ and Madonna of the Garvey movement, the fabrication of racial history, the simulated contempt for white civilization, and other like phenomena presently to be discussed are efforts to achieve a self-respect and a basis for racial pride. The racial myths and the endless organizations and societies with their grandiose titles and glittering regalia are in large part a means of escape from reality through the fabrication of a world of dreams.

The appearance of such a nationalistic psychosis among the Negroes is a relatively recent phenomenon. Historically they have been a highly accommodated group. Their prevailing psychology has been that of inferiority and of the acceptance of inferiority. Throughout the period of life in America they have lived in the midst of a larger population possessed of a superior culture. It was inevitable that the white standard and the white beliefs should be the ones accepted by the minority group. From infancy to old age, they were impressed on every hand with the idea of their innate racial inferiority, and they accepted the doctrine as one of the obvious facts of nature. They had no part in the culture system and never escaped the implication of their race and status.

As a result the ambitious and superior individuals generally manifested a pathetic desire to be like the white man, to be identified with the race in which effort, ability, and personal worth were recognized and rewarded. The

Negroes discounted their own personal and racial worth. Color was believed to be a barrier to advancement. The ideal of worth, beauty, and accomplishment lay outside the racial group and dissatisfaction with the conditions of life expressed itself in efforts to conform at least outwardly to the white model.

THE VOLUNTARY SEGREGATION OF THE NEGROES

In America the Negroes have always been in some degree a group apart. The physical differences between the races are so great as generally to make intimate association mutually repugnant. The cultural differences have at all times been wide. The whites have generally refused to fraternize with the Negroes and, when free to do so, the great majority of the Negroes have lived in separate settlements as a matter of choice. They seek and prefer the association of persons of their own race and color. By the mass of the Negro people, separation as such has not been looked upon as a hardship but rather as a simple, natural fact in accord with their wishes.

In the slave order the opportunity of the slaves to associate with each other was usually very limited. The economic interdependence of the races was such as to prevent any general expression of the natural tendency toward segregation. In some of the community relations of life they were allowed to segregate themselves but in most respects no free expression of the natural tendency was possible. In the decade immediately following the Civil War, the breach between the races widened. The ex-slaves, forced to depend upon their own efforts, gradually built up a more or less independent and characteristic set of institutions and a sense of racial unity began gradually to appear.

But the difficulties in the way of a race conscious Negro population were apparently insuperable. The Negroes

were economically and culturally dependent upon the more numerous white group. They were without ancestral pride or family tradition. They had no distinctive language or religion: these, like their folkways and moral customs, were but recently acquired from the whites and furnished no nucleus for a racial unity. The group was without even a tradition of historic unity or of racial achievement. There were no historic names, no great achievements, no body of literature, no artistic productions. The whole record of the race was one of servile or barbarian status apparently without a point about which a sentimental complex could form. The one distinctive fact of the race was a characteristic physical appearance. But color was everywhere associated with servile status and backward culture; it was a fact of which the rising members of the group were ashamed and from which they desired to escape; it was not a fact of which they were proud.

It was not until after the scheme for giving the freedmen a classical education had failed and given place to the movement for industrial education that a real racial unity was possible. This new educational program, resulting as it did in a rapid increase in home and property owning and in a body of trained persons useful in the situation, gave an increasing number of independent and self-respecting men. It gave the beginnings of a middle-class group with a pride of accomplishment and a self-respect born of independent endeavor. As this group increased in numbers it formed a locus about which the Negroes tended gradually to unite. With its development came also some realization of the great opportunities before the race and a growing determination to use the opportunities. There was in consequence an increased tendency to withdraw from dependence upon the whites and engage in coöperative effort to advance the racial interests. The sentimental preference for the familiar

which gave some natural basis for a degree of unity was thus reinforced by the apparent self-interest of the group.

PUBLIC DISCRIMINATION AND ENFORCED SEGREGATION

The conditions of life that the Negroes have faced in America during the period of their freedom have been conducive in the highest degree to the growth of a nationalistic spirit. At every point in their social evolution they have met opposition and been reminded by persistent discrimination that they are a group apart. They have been denied full participation in the cultural life and ambitious individuals, striving to escape the inferior status, have been forced back upon their own group. At every turn the Negroes have been made to realize that they will be tolerated only in the capacity of menials.

This white policy has been characteristically undiscriminating. The assimilation of the white civilization has not changed the general attitude; no exception is made of the individuals of education and refinement. Indeed, the advance of Negroes has in general tended to intensify prejudice and increase discrimination. The changed attitudes and individual desires which come with higher standards of life and education clash with the conservative desire to perpetuate the traditional relation of superiority and subordination. The efforts of the educated and partly educated Negroes to escape the racial isolation and participate in new capacities in the cultural life have generally aroused an intense prejudice on the part of the whites, and this emotional attitude has expressed itself in various more or less conscious and deliberate efforts to prevent the rise of the Negroes, to control the type of racial contacts, and to maintain the caste distinction. The popular white policy and practice have been to treat all Negroes categorically, to refuse to

accept even the most exceptional persons on the basis of personality and individual worth.

Not only has the discrimination tended to include all individuals of the race, it has extended to every phase of the racial life and isolated them as completely as possible from all social and cultural contacts. They have in general been excluded from white residential areas and forced to live in segregated and generally in neglected and undesirable sections. Their children have been forced into separate and inferior schools. The inter-marriage of the races has been forbidden, and by various means all other contacts that might even indirectly imply social equality have been prevented. The Negroes have been made to realize that regardless of individual worth and refinement they may not aspire to a social and personal relation with the whites.

Everywhere they have met unequal treatment before the law, and unequal protection from the law. The police have generally been undiscriminating and the courts severe. In times of racial disorder the police and military power of the state has often been used to suppress the Negroes rather than to restore or maintain order. Their women have generally been outside the protection of the law. More frequently than others, they have been the victims of lynching mobs. Various self-appointed disciplinary bodies have made them the victims in programs of violence. They have lived always in an atmosphere of fear and seldom if ever wholly free from the possibility of personal mistreatment.

By force and fraud they have for the most part been denied the franchise and made an issue rather than a factor in the political life of the nation. Campaigns repeatedly have been made to turn, regardless of the issues involved, upon the racial attitudes of the candidates. In the economic and industrial life they have been an exploited group and their helplessness has been the greater

because they have generally been denied membership in the labor organizations. In civil life discrimination has been equally general and galling. They have been excluded from hotels and restaurants, made unwelcome in public parks and playgrounds, assigned to separate sections in theatres and places of amusement, tolerated rather than welcomed by the colleges and universities. On trains and street cars and in depots and public places generally throughout the South they have been provided separate accommodations and denied the use of facilities provided for the general public. The larger retail establishments have frequently denied them service or discouraged their patronage. And in innumerable other ways they have met inconveniences and restrictions, frequently of an intentionally humiliating type.

Thus, throughout the country, at all periods, and in every department of life, the Negroes have been set apart: they have not been allowed to participate fully in the civilization. They have been denied all personal and social relations with the whites, they have met discrimination in public as well as in civil life. Continually they have been reminded of the fact that they are a peculiar race and they have been treated as inferior regardless of individual attainment and personal worth.

THE OPPORTUNITY THAT RACIAL SEPARATION OPENED TO NEGRO LEADERS

The two forces—the natural disposition of the Negroes to associate with and live near others of their race, and the exclusion policy of the arrogant white group—operated to the same end. Each tended to create a Negro group independent of and separated from the surrounding whites. The separation of the racial groups gradually increased and extended to more and more departments of life. With the separation and consequent self-

dependence there developed a self-confidence and an increased sense of racial unity. The Negroes became increasingly open to the propaganda of organization engaged in combating the discriminatory practices of the whites and more disposed to accept the doctrine that the race should develop its own independent culture.

Certain advantages inherent in racial unity were presently recognized. The segregation and exclusion of the group made a place and provided a function for racial leaders. The separation of the group created a need for business and professional men and the growing unity of the group made it possible for them to survive and prosper. Merchants who could not offer a type of service that would enable them to survive in a free competition with the more experienced and better equipped white rivals found the key to business success in a racial solidarity that assured them a patronage that their service could not otherwise command. In a similar way, Negro physicians, dentists, entertainers, and other professional men were able to thrive when racial sentiment over-balanced the difference in skill between themselves and the competing white practitioners.

The patronage of the race enabled Negro business men to live, to gain experience, and to improve their service. Their success was often assured by the action of the whites; in some cases by encouraging the Negro establishments with their patronage, and in other cases by the refusal of white business men to take trade from the competing Negro establishment. More than one Negro bank owes its success to the fact that with its establishment the white bankers required their Negro depositors to close their accounts and transact their business through the Negro institutions. The refusal of white physicians to accept Negro patients when a physician of that race opened an office assured many Negro physicians a practice from the start. The success of the early professional

men was thus made possible by the attitude of the white business and professional men and by the growing racial unity, and as the type of service given by the Negroes improved there was a natural growth. Success depended, therefore, upon a racial separation and sentimental unity that gave a virtual monopoly; the greater the sentimental unity the less there was of white competition.

The success of the first venturesome individuals, due largely to an absence of keen competition, stimulated other ambitious persons to secure the education or training necessary to a professional or business career. The racial solidarity thus operated to the advantage of various individuals.

THE NEGRO ADVOCACY OF THE BI-RACIAL PLAN OF ADJUSTMENT

A realization of the great immediate advantage inherent in race unity and solidarity led to an active propaganda in favor of a bi-racial organization. Individuals of both races and of widely divergent interests and motives advocated racial solidarity and made every effort possible to bring the masses of the race to a realization of its importance.

Business and professional men exploited the sentiment and stimulated its growth. As the sentiment grew the business men appealed for patronage more and more on the ground of race loyalty. These Negro business concerns were generally small, their standards low, and their service poor. They could seldom offer the inducement of superior goods, lower prices, or better service. Instead the appeal for patronage was presented as an obligation that individuals were under to support the enterprises of the race. The interests of the group were made to appear identical with those of individuals who profited immediately and directly from racial separateness. There

came to be much criticism and personal abuse of individuals who allowed economic rather than sentimental considerations to decide the establishment with which they traded. It was argued that the race could advance through coöperative unity only and that individuals who allowed self-interest and personal convenience to outweigh their racial obligations were traitors: their behavior tended to weaken or destroy the unity and integrity of the group. The men who for one reason or another did not support race institutions or did not favor the growth of the nationalistic spirit were enemies within the race.

The Negro newspapers almost without exception became ardent advocates of racial unity. Some part of this is to be understood in terms of self-interest. As news vehicles they did not rank high, their circulation was dependent upon the existence of a racial spirit that would support them in spite of their imperfections. Like the generality of white papers they were published in the interests of business men or were dependent upon business advertising for support, so reflected the interests of the advertising classes. But the attitude of the papers was not wholly a calculating one: the convictions of the editors were pretty uniformly in harmony with the circulation interests; they were generally sincere in the belief that the welfare of the group was furthered by the existence of a race-conscious unity.

Many racial leaders came to accept the position that the prejudice and discrimination of the whites was an advantage to the race. If the white people, it was argued, allowed Negroes to attend their churches there would be no Negro congregation, so no possibility of a Negro ministry; if the Negroes were not excluded from or discriminated against in white establishments there would be no place for or possibility of Negro restaurants, hotels, barber shops, or other places of business; if Negroes were not denied membership in white organizations there

would be no possibility of Negro secret societies and fraternal organizations; if it were not for the disinclination of white professional men to serve a Negro clientele there would be no possibility of a Negro professional group; if it were not for segregated schools there would be no place for Negro teachers. So in other activities of life: the place of the Negro leader was made possible by a group solidarity that resulted chiefly from the prejudice of the whites and the exclusion of Negroes from white groups.

The advocates of the nationalistic movement have supported and defended it by a wide variety of reasons, frequently partly or wholly contradictory.

Many of the supporters of the bi-racial system have held the belief that such an arrangement would lessen the friction between the races. Aside from any moral judgment in regard to it, racial prejudice is a fact. It is most intense in the ignorant classes and becomes particularly active in the event of economic competition. By keeping the masses of the two races apart in many or most of their activities, thus avoiding individual competition and occasions for friction, it was believed that harmonious and friendly relations could be more easily maintained. Other persons, chiefly Negroes, have advocated a racial solidarity and stimulated its growth as the most effective means for opposing the discrimination of the whites. They look forward to conflict between the races as inevitable and when it comes a high degree of solidarity will be racially advantageous. Again, it is believed by many who do not anticipate a racial war that a self-conscious racial unity will make it possible for the race to present a united front in the struggle against discrimination and injustice. Acting as a group they will be able to exert a political and moral power and get consideration not obtainable by the individuals acting in their several capacities. Police protection, political recognition,

economic equality, housing reform, sanitary measures and the like may be secured if at all by group action. The size and complexity of modern society is such as to make impossible the participation of the great number of individuals as individuals: they must participate, if at all, in the general affairs of the city, state, and nation through the deliberations of local, occupational, or racial groups. Only by separate racial organization and unity of action is it possible for them to make their influence felt in the determination of national policies and practices.

Many advocates of the bi-racial arrangement anticipate as a result of racial unity and self-consciousness that the Negro people will be able to make a distinctive contribution to American and world culture. They are frequently exhorted by both Negro and white men of prominence to develop a culture of their own. They are advised to be the best possible black men rather than imitations of white men. They are told to publish their own papers, write their own books, preach their own sermons, teach their own children, organize their own societies, and otherwise develop an independent culture complex. The underlying thought seems to be that the Negroes have special racial needs and capacities; so instead of assimilating and sharing the culture facts of white American life they should produce new culture facts, values of independent Negro invention.

Of a slightly different nature is the prevalent idea that the backward group has, or because of temperamental characteristics may develop, some unique culture elements which would be lost to civilization by the rapid enlightenment of the group. As the Italian immigrant to America brings a musical heritage the incorporation of which would greatly enrich American culture and which would be incorporated if the process of Italian assimilation went on slowly but is lost to the group and to America in the course of rapid assimilation, so the characteristic ele-

ments of Negro culture may be preserved to enrich American civilization provided the group maintains a separate and independent status.

EVIDENCES AND EXPRESSIONS OF A GROWING SOLIDARITY OF RACE

In the present day a race-conscious Negro group is largely an accomplished fact. Its expression is, or is rapidly coming to be, as general as the activities and contacts of the race. There is to be sure a bitter internal strife among the factions striving for ascendency, and the group is torn by endless class prejudices and personal jealousies. But back of the petty political manœuvring of individuals, factions, and classes is a fundamental trend of sentiment which may be observed in widely separated fields and in otherwise unrelated activities.

The rapid fabrication of a Negro history and culture tradition is a major expression of an actively self-conscious group. A tradition of historic greatness is an invaluable aid, if not an absolute prerequisite, to nationality. But the American Negroes are without such a background. The major part of the period of residence in this country was spent in slavery and in freedom they have been a culturally backward and excluded group. The race as a whole has no history; even the few rude cultural beginnings that ethnological research uncovers are in most cases not indigenous. But the obstacle that this paucity of historic accomplishment offers to the development of racial pride is rapidly disappearing. There are various achievements of men of Negro blood that are a source of racial pride. These are being continually retold and embellished. Recently there has been a marked tendency to emphasize early African civilization and to exploit the part that Negroes have had in the building of other cultures. The fact that the historic structure

thus being woven is largely one of myth and fiction in no way lessens its importance; it is adequate for the purposes of a nationalistic monument. The thing essential for nationalistic unity is belief; historic accuracy is a point of negligible concern. So, regardless of the historic accuracy of this body of material it has an historic significance: it serves to crystallize Negro opinion and to foster the belief that the race has a past of which it may be proud, that Negro culture and achievement are things of historic importance. This rapidly increasing body of material is an expression of the striving of a repressed group for self-respect at the same time that it is a basis for a pride of race.

The increasing number of racial organizations of national scope is another expression of the growing race consciousness. The Negro church and religious organizations are in nearly all cases separate. The number of benevolent and secret societies of national scope is over half a hundred. During the present century there have been created a very large number of national organizations for professional and political advancement, for general and civic improvement, for economic development, for advancing the interests of Negro women, and for a wide variety of other purposes. The number and prosperity of these organizations indicate the trend of development and the extent of racial separation. The race supports from four to five hundred newspapers and periodicals, several with a national circulation.

The so-called back to Africa movement is at once an expression of a nationalistic spirit and an evidence of its wide spread among the masses of the group. The Universal Negro Improvement Association was established in 1917 by Marcus Garvey, an immigrant Negro from the West Indies. The avowed purposes of the Association were to improve the commercial status of the Negro peoples throughout the world and to restore Africa to the

Africans. The founder desired to prove to the world the political, social, and industrial ability of the Negro peoples and to establish a Negro nation that the Negroes might be accepted by other races on an equal footing. By accident or design Garvey raised the most delicate issue in Negro politics—the question of color. For support he appealed directly to the black and ignorant masses of the race, ignoring the light-colored classes and later attacking them on the ground that they were out of touch and sympathy with the masses. The result was the arousal of the most bitter opposition of the mulatto leadership and a correspondingly increased enthusiasm on the part of the black and ignorant classes. Membership in the organization increased rapidly: before the collapse of the movement with the arrest and imprisonment of Garvey, over a million Negroes had contributed funds to its support and the followers numbered one-third to one-half of the American Negro population. The whole movement from any standpoint—political, economic, financial, social—was farcical but it was a dramatic demonstration of the social unrest of the inarticulate masses.

Extreme sensitiveness is increasingly characteristic of the race in America. There is everywhere manifest a spirit of resentment to any and all things that imply disrespect. The use of the various descriptive terms and epithets—darkey, coon, pickaninny, and the like—is almost universally resented and there is continued discussion concerning even the race name Negro as against "colored people", "Afro-Americans", and the like. To write the name of the race without capitalizing the initial N, as has been the convention, is resented as a discourtesy. The displaying of "for white only", "for colored only", or other similar legends is the object of vigorous attack. Almost invariably the reaction of the Negro press to news reports of and editorial comments on race friction appearing in the white newspapers is that these news items are

intentionally biased and the editorial utterances intended to excuse the whites and exaggerate the offense of the Negroes. There is an increasing tendency to boycott firms treating Negroes unfairly or discourteously. More and more the Negroes are showing a disposition to defend themselves against white mobs, and to move away from communities where lynchings have occurred. There is an increasing confidence in Negro leadership. In some quarters there is a disposition to reject all things white, even the Christian religion. Negro dolls have to a large extent replaced white dolls as toys for Negro children. There is a large and increasing interest in race literature, music, and other artistic expressions and a disposition to exploit them as foci of racial pride. Various other items of behavior and opinion might easily be cited as expressions of a growing nationalistic spirit. The tendency is manifest in every field of Negro activity and is spreading rapidly among the peasant and laboring groups.

RACIAL AND SOCIAL CONSEQUENCES OF A NEGRO NATIONALITY

The significance to the race of a high degree of solidarity is not always clearly understood by many of its advocates, its disadvantages are frequently overlooked and its advantages sometimes grossly exaggerated. From the point of view of the inclusive group, a militantly nationalistic spirit is fraught with consequences that seem not always to come within the orbit of thought of the bi-racial advocates.

In the initial stages of the culture development the advantages that result from a strong sentimental unity seem to overshadow the disadvantages. By destroying or lessening competition with better equipped and better trained men, it gives a virtual monopoly on the patronage of the race. The consequent success of a few enterprising

men in these circumstances is a stimulation to other active-minded and ambitious individuals to essay business careers or to prepare themselves for professional service.

But there are obvious limits on the extent to which this process is racially advantageous. Temporarily it is of great value to the struggling business and professional groups; ultimately it must react disastrously upon the group and upon the very classes that at first profit by it. To the extent that these classes secure a monopoly on the patronage of the race, they are under no strong economic compulsion to maintain a high grade of service and lower business and professional standards prevail. Inferior service is a price which the group pays for the indulgence of a racial sentiment. Professional men lack the stimulation and example of outside groups and the standards of training and skill decline or fail to advance as rapidly as in less isolated groups. It is possible to succeed on the basis of low standards and inferior men gain a footing in the professions. The group pays the price in the inferior service it receives.

To the extent that the Negroes develop peculiar and exclusive institutions, they are to that degree isolated from the only culture they may hope to acquire. The creation of a distinctive Negro culture in the midst of an advanced and highly complex civilization is manifestly impossible. If, because of distinctive temperamental traits, the Negro group has the capacity to enrich modern culture by a distinctive racial contribution, it can be done by the incorporation of the group rather than by their exclusion. There is no trace of African culture surviving in the American group. The only culture values within their heritage are those common to the regions in which they live. The language, religion, technology, customs, moral standards, and so through the list of culture values are European and not African. Into this culture heritage the Negroes have but recently come and they do not in

general measure up to its standards. Their cultural standards are retarded but not peculiar. In the situation the problem of the Negro, as of any other backward group, is to master the existing culture. Just as the first need of the child is education, a knowledge of what has been done and a training that will give him a workmanlike control of the tools of culture, so the Negroes need to be assimilated to the existing culture and measure up to the standards of European civilization. To refuse to be assimilated into the existing culture and master the body of knowledge of that culture can result in nothing except the retardation of the rate at which the group advances.

Cultural progress comes by invention and the incorporation of the new into the previously existing cultural complex. In the modern world this social change is rapid. The large size of modern groups makes frequent the appearance of individuals capable of making cultural contributions, and the highly developed means of communication in the Western world enables society at large to profit from the inventions of the superior. The modern peoples are thus not dependent for cultural advance upon the accidental and unpredictable appearance of extraordinary men within the group; they profit equally by the superiority appearing in other groups at a similar stage of cultural advance. The necessity of cultural contact increases as the size and culture of the group decline. The smaller the numbers the less likelihood of the appearance of superior persons and the greater its dependence upon superiority appearing in other groups. In the case of a culturally retarded group the necessity of cultural contact increases since the probability of native superiority appearing is less and the need greater.

Any degree of exclusion results in cultural retardation since no group however talented may hope to produce a galaxy of genius that would enable it to progress at a rate comparable with others not limited for copy to their

own inventive genius. The cause or type of isolation does not alter the end result: illiteracy is not less significant than physical isolation.

Various nationalistic groups retard their advance by a sentimental determination to persist in the use of their own objectively inferior culture elements—as the Polish refusal to accept a culture language, or the Irish refusal to accept a protestant religion—because the alternative and superior forms originated with or are in the hands of groups toward which their nationalistic antipathy is directed. To the extent that the Negro people develop a nationalistic complex, to that extent they are isolated from the contacts necessary to their cultural advance. There is created a sentimental barrier that hinders their acceptance of invention that comes from the antipathetic source; there is an emotional refusal to accept and incorporate culture facts superior to existing elements. A sentimental complex, a nationalistic psychosis, isolates a group as effectively as a linguistic insularity. The Negro has all to lose and nothing to gain by the growth of such a nationalistic sentiment.

The existence of a race-conscious attitude operates to retard racial development by stimulating the growth of separate institutions and by centering attention upon inferior models. The institutions developed by the Negroes are more or less faithful copies of corresponding white institutions but, in the nature of the social process, they will be inferior to the originals. Separate Negro churches are a source of pride and they afford an opportunity for a Negro ministry and in a measure serve a peculiar need but they also prevent the attendance of the Negroes on more valuable services. The separate Negro schools provide a livelihood for teachers who otherwise would be forced into less congenial occupations but they also mean inferior school facilities for Negro children. Separate institutions are inferior institutions. They are

manned by persons incompletely assimilated to modern culture and, in the present development of the race, they cannot be adequately supported. They make possible the development of individuals and allow many, unable to survive in competition with the whites, to secure a more or less genteel living but they retard the development of the mass.

The attention of the race-conscious Negro tends to be upon inferior models. To the extent that the Negro reads "race literature" to the exclusion of literature he is deprived of an important culture contact. It makes a market for writing of too little merit otherwise to find its way into print. To the extent that he reads "Negro history" instead of history his knowledge is perverted and his degree of approximation to modern cultural standards is lessened. It enables the "race historian" to market his wares but at the cost of retarding the enlightenment of the group. The emphasis upon "race music" operates to retard the musical appreciation of the people. The similar thing is true of "Negro art", "Negro drama" and other things "Negro". They occupy the attention of persons and they take the place of superior available forms, thus functioning to retard the intellectual freedom and the cultural advance of the race. In various ways the race conscious attitude among the Negroes as among other groups leads to the substitution of inferior in the presence of superior models.

A race-conscious attitude on the part of the Negro group is freighted with other consequences which are unfortunate from the point of view of the inclusive social group as well as from that of the Negro people. The isolation and solidarity of the group tends to lessen individual competition between Negro and white persons. It tends to the creation of an occupational segregation on racial lines, and consequently competition becomes that

of racial groups. The emphasis is placed upon the group rather than upon the members of the group.

As has been pointed out, the solidarity of the group increases its power and may lead locally and temporarily to conspicuous success. The success of individuals of the race is to be expected and is a matter of indifference. The advance of individual Negroes is tolerated and may even be encouraged by the dominant group. It is not a phenomenon that attracts the attention or arouses the fears of the whites. But the advance of the group and their increasing unity and power are things that attract attention and excite fear. On the part of many white individuals and groups there is a very real fear that the Negro may become the equal or even come to dominate. This latent fear becomes active in the presence of group solidarity and aggressiveness. The Negroes cannot develop a social solidarity without stimulating a reciprocal attitude on the part of competing white groups.

In such a situation—two race conscious groups with mutually hostile attitudes—the more numerous and politically powerful group will take measures to suppress and repress the numerically weaker group and protect its own race interests whenever competition becomes dangerous. In the presence of a more numerous hostile group, the unity that has apparently been of advantage in their rise is a thing that puts them in a position where repressive measures are easy to enforce. At this point there is in operation a vicious circle. Race-conscious solidarity on the part of the Negroes leads to their voluntary segregation and to a certain type of success in racial competition; this arouses the fear and leads to the solidarity of the whites and to measures of repression, so to increased solidarity and segregation of the minority, and to an increase in repressive measures. At this stage race consciousness has defeated its own ends.

Once the process reaches this stage, the individuals of

the minority group are virtually helpless: an isolated minority has a limited range of choice in such situation. They may accept the limitations and handicaps that the superior group sees fit to impose—accept the inevitable and become accommodated to an inferior status. And this in the great majority of cases they must do. In the case of a few individuals, escape is possible through a change in racial status. But of the Negro group only the mulattoes with a negligible amount of Negro blood can pass as white. The number is very limited and those able to do so with success leave the race in any event. Relief through emigration is equally limited. To go to other sections of the country in numbers gives rise to similar restrictive measures long before the emigration becomes large enough to afford relief. Emigration of the Negroes to other countries is not a present possibility. To oppose discrimination and repression by armed struggle is suicidal. Such a nationalistic conflict could result only in defeat and the imposition of more severely restrictive measures. To fight through formal legal means is futile: the success of litigation depends, in the long run, upon mass sentiment.

RACE CONFLICTS

The numerous race riots that have occurred within the past decade are both evidence and expression of a militant race-conscious attitude developed in the presence of a fixed and powerful prejudice of race.

Until recent years the racial attitudes in the United States have been such as to make group conflicts infrequent. As previously pointed out, the prejudice of race and caste is an element of the American social heritage. Habituated to the Negroes as social inferiors, the whites had a sentimentally tolerant attitude toward them and their shortcomings as menials. But in any other capacity they

were not tolerated. There was on the part of most Americans an emotional repulsion to any sort of relationship that implied equality. For purposes of race relations this attitude may be taken as a fundamental datum. It is a constant factor in the causal complex of every racial conflict of which there is any adequate report. But race prejudice alone is not the cause of conflict. The races were accommodated on the basis of white superiority and Negro subordination. The Negroes were an excluded group with a slave psychology: they were repressed and inferior and they accepted their status.

It is only after a repressed group has evolved internal bonds of unity that there is a possibility of mobilizing its strength for group action. The unity may come from a sense of solidarity arising in the sentimental and personal contacts of the primary group situation, or it may be some sense of a community of interest conceived to be peculiar to the members and opposed to the interests of other groups. If the initial solidarity arises through the secondary stimulation of external circumstance, it comes presently to be reinforced by the emotional attitudes arising from the personal contacts incident to the interest association. If the group unity arises from the fact of primary association, the sentimental bonds are presently supplemented by the bonds arising from the community of interest peculiar, or thought to be peculiar, to the group. In either case the subjective side of group solidarity is a complex of rational and emotional attitudes that makes possible a concerted type of activity of indefinite duration. Until such time as an oppressed group evolves the internal bonds of unity there is little likelihood of concerted behavior. Individuals may protest and struggle against abuse and mistreatment, there may even be simultaneous revolt of many persons against persecution, but the phenomena remain essentially individual. It is only when the group has developed a sense

of solidarity that it tends to respond as a group in the presence of behavior injurious to the group or insulting to its members.

The social order imposed after the Civil War period obviously could not endure. Had it been designed to that end, it could not have been better adapted to bring about discontent and friction. This white racial program involved an inherent contradiction. It provided on the one hand for the general education and enlightenment of the race and for its economic and social advance, on the other hand it denied satisfaction to practically every desire and aspiration created by the cultural enlightenment. The constitution and the laws guaranteed the Negroes equal rights and privileges with other men at the same time that customary practice forbade the exercise of the rights that were legally granted and assured.

As the Negroes outgrew the grosser forms of their slave psychology they developed an oppression psychosis and chafed against the racial status as defined in custom. As wealth and literacy increased they grew more and more restless. They became increasingly resentful of abuse, more unwilling passively to submit to discrimination, more disposed to protest against mistreatment, and to insist upon their legal rights. They became increasingly conscious of a common problem and a group interest. As group solidarity developed, in the presence of a popular determination to maintain the customary status, racial tension increased. The necessary background of racial strife existed and the trend of events was clearly in that direction. The situation was most advanced in the cities and especially in the northern cities. There the Negroes were less abused, terrorized, and browbeaten than in the South and the rural districts. They had more legal and police protection. In general they were more literate, better informed as to their legal rights, and more highly race conscious, their leadership was more militant, doc-

trinaire, and incendiary. They were more resentful of discourtesy and more rebellious in cases of discrimination. Moreover, they were keenly aware of the divided sentiment within the white group, aware of the fact that many persons and groups looked upon Negroes as individuals and desired to see them treated on the basis of personal worth.

The war, in a number of places, brought the interracial situation to a premature climax. The increased mobility, the improved economic position, and the army experience of the Negroes stimulated the development of a race-conscious solidarity. On the part of the whites an increased hatred of race was an integral part of the war-time intolerance. There were a number of armed conflicts resulting in bloodshed and the destruction of property. Even more frequent were the occasions where riots were narrowly averted or were suppressed before they assumed the proportion or duration of racial wars. In the year 1919 serious riots occurred in seven cities: Chicago, Illinois; Elaine, Arkansas; Charleston, South Carolina; Knoxville, Tennessee; Longview, Texas; Omaha, Nebraska; and Washington, D. C. In the following year similar riots took place at Duluth, Minnesota; Independence, Kansas; and Ocoee, Florida. In 1921 there were riots of serious proportions at Springfield, Ohio and Tulsa, Oklahoma. Other serious race conflicts occurred at Coatesville, Pennsylvania, Springfield, Illinois; Chester, Pennsylvania; Rosewood, Florida; Johnstown, Pennsylvania; and East St. Louis, Illinois.

The various racial clashes that have so far occurred in America have differed in detail only, chiefly in the external conditions that provided the setting for and the incidents that led to the expression of racial hatred. The migration of Negroes into Northern cities made additional living quarters necessary. The consequent invasion of neighborhoods previously white was a frequent point of

friction. The suddenly increased economic competition of the races in many Northern communities roused the latent prejudice of race. It has so frequently happened that racial conflicts have been associated with labor troubles that some writers have mistaken the fundamental element and argued that race riots are merely economic and labor wars. But this is to confuse an inciting incident or a contributory fact with the basic cause. There is no doubt that the rude and offensive behavior of certain migrant Negroes, over-compensating for their recent repression in the new and strange freedom of Northern cities, was a factor contributing to racial hatred and strife. The newspapers of both races inflamed the passions of their readers by playing up sensational incidents and rumors. The immediate incidents resulting in mob behavior bear no necessary relation to the racial strife. In East St. Louis the inciting incident was apparently the irresponsible behavior of a group of drunken revellers. In Elaine the incident seems to have been the action of a sheriff seeking in sport to frighten a group of Negroes. In Chicago the rioting started from the quarrelling of rowdies at a public bathing beach. With the proper background of prejudice and sentiment any incident may precipitate a racial war.

THE FUTURE DEVELOPMENT OF THE RACIAL PSYCHOSIS

The continued growth of a Negro nationalistic spirit in America is perhaps inevitable. It arises naturally out of the social situation which comprises two races of marked and obvious physical differences and on different levels of cultural evolution. In such a situation, the great majority of individuals of the backward group form their primary associations with others of the same race and heritage. In the socially superior group caste and color prejudice inevitably appears, enforces proscriptive regu-

lations, and operates to reinforce the natural solidarity of the lower caste.

Certain obvious advantages immediately appear as a result of racial unity. It seems to stimulate ambitious individuals to enter business and professional and artistic pursuits by virtually insuring them successful careers through guaranteeing patronage. The solidarity of the group gives a certain political power that is less obvious when individuals act separately and the group is in consequence able to demand a recognition and consideration not otherwise obtainable. There is a certain protection that comes with combination and the consequent ability to present a united front. The isolation of the group that comes as a result of the race-conscious attitude decreases interracial contacts and so decreases the amount and opportunity for racial friction.

But in any long time view, the development of a nationalistic unity operates to the disadvantage of the Negro and so to the disadvantage of the whole community. It places attention upon the group rather than upon the person and thereby restricts individual freedom. It holds the attention of the members of the race upon inferior patterns and habituates them to inferior institutions, thereby retarding the cultural advance. It arouses the fears and intensifies the prejudices of certain white persons, thus increasing the difficulty of establishing and maintaining just and amicable inter-race relations.

It would be to the advantage of the Negroes and to the advantage of the white people to remove all handicaps imposed by caste and other prejudice. They retard the cultural advance of the Negroes and to that extent the advance of the community. The result is the same whether the Negroes are handicapped in their individual freedom directly by discriminatory acts of the whites or indirectly by the existence of a sentimental race complex. The latter arises as a consequence of the former and so long

as discrimination and exclusion are general it is folly to oppose the growth of nationality.

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CHAPTER XVII

THE PRESENT AND THE FUTURE

PROPOSED SOLUTIONS OF THE RACE PROBLEM

Persons interested in the American race problem in its so-called practical aspects have from time to time proposed and advocated numerous "solutions". These proposals differ with time and place as well as with the information and point of view of the individual reformers. Those advanced by the reformers of one race seldom receive even the qualified approval of the racially opposed group of reformers.

A persistent popular idea prevails to the effect that the problem is in the way of solving itself through the disappearance of the Negro people. It is thought that they are biologically incapable of adaptation to the American climatic conditions and will, through the operation of the selective forces of nature, presently become extinct. So far as this idea is anything more than the rationalization of a pious wish, it seems always to be based upon certain immature deductions from inadequate and partly analyzed statistical data.

A deportation scheme arose very early and had an enthusiastic following. In spite of the manifest impossibility of carrying any such plan into execution as well as the very questionable desirability of doing so if it were possible, it has even at the present time a great many advocates. Some of the persons who advocate this type of solution would force all Negroes to migrate to Africa or elsewhere; others would colonize them in some American

state or in some territory adjacent to the United States. Another numerically important group of persons believe that Christianity is the only solvent of racial problems but they are sometimes vague as to the practical details of the program. It would not be profitable to discuss at length the numerous proposals of which deportation, colonization, and Christianity are typical.

On somewhat more intelligent levels white opinion is not formed. A certain highly articulate group advocates the immediate admission of the Negroes to full social and public equality with the whites and their treatment as individuals on the basis of their personal worth. Others seem to desire their independent but somewhat separate development in order that the culture may profit by any unique contributions that they, because of their racial temperament, may be able to make. Still others are willing to grant equal civic and intellectual equality but would place restrictions upon intermarriage and other personal and social activity. The general body of Southern opinion leans to the side of repression, to the plan of excluding the race from all participation in public life. Certain extremists would gladly see the restoration of a slave régime. The more moderate view would keep the Negroes as laborers and menials, permitting such development as promised to be conducive to the comfort and convenience of the whites. Certain individuals and groups see a solution of the problem in a manual and industrial education of the Negroes, an education that would make more efficient laborers without creating discontent with an inferior racial status. The solution through popular education has in general the same reservation: it is designed, fundamentally, to make of the Negroes a greater convenience to white men than they are as illiterates; there is no intention on the part of the advocates of popular education for the Negroes, nor on the part of the philanthropic men who have contributed so generously to the

elementary instruction of the race, that they shall be given equal or sufficient education to jeopardize the existing racial order. There is difference of opinion as to the type and amount of training to be provided but no radical difference of opinion as to the desirability of racial inequality in educational opportunity. A very popular present-day solution of the race problem is the interracial commission. Here there is apparently an acceptance of the essential political soundness of a bi-racial organization and the assumption that satisfactory relations may be maintained between competing nationalistic groups within the same political unit by diplomatic mediation.

There are three or four fairly well-defined racial programs with numerically respectable followings in the articulate Negro world.

Under the masterly political leadership of Booker T. Washington a solution was sought in terms of the economic and educational advance of the Negro masses. The emphasis was upon decent living, school attendance, better health, home owning, improved farming, and other concrete and homely things designed to create individual and racial self-respect. There was a conscious effort to avoid friction by conciliation and to maintain friendly and coöperative relations between the races. It was, at least on the surface, an effort to face a real situation and make a common-sense adjustment, without whining, in terms of reality. As it stood in the mind of Washington the industrial education movement was a method rather than an end. The white world would be more disposed to grant equal political and public treatment when the Negro masses more nearly approached the moral, economic, and educational standards of the dominant race, and the Negroes would be in a position effectively to insist upon the establishment of a democratic social order and their equal participation therein when and only when they measured up to the cultural standards of the time. The

death of Washington left this movement without competent leadership and without a spokesman and in the past decade there has been a marked decline in its relative importance in Negro thought on the race problem.

A second approach to the practical problem is by way of publicity, propaganda, and legal action; an open fight to secure for Negroes the full and complete enjoyment of constitutionally guaranteed rights. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People is the chief organization sponsoring this type of solution. This is an aggressive and militant organization of biracial membership that has brought to the present-day situation the spirit and methods of the abolition societies of an earlier generation. It has engaged in systematic and persistent agitation and protest against all forms of inequality in racial treatment, engaged in numerous legal struggles to stop discriminatory treatment, and lobbied extensively for legislation favorable to the interests of Negroes. The tacit assumption is that the race problem is a political problem, or at least a problem that may be solved by political means. It is only recently that this school of Negro thought gained any considerable following. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People had a small membership during the first two decades of its existence. In 1916 it claimed a membership of only 9,500. After the death of Booker T. Washington and the virtual collapse of the movement to raise the masses through common school and industrial education, the militant groups came to be the chief forces molding Negro opinion on race problems.

The Garvey Movement, so-called from its founder, Marcus Garvey, an immigrant Negro from the West Indies, was an attempt to solve the race problem by perfecting a world organization of Negroes into a provisional African empire that would force the recognition and respect of the white world.

THE CONSTANT FACTORS IN THE RACIAL SITUATION

The various methods advocated by individuals and organizations as solutions of the race problem may be dismissed with brief comment. There is no solution.

But the recognition of this fact does not lessen the importance of racial opinions and racial movements. Nothing is to be gained by ignoring unpleasant elements of the situation nor by denying or minimizing their importance. Any reasonably satisfactory working arrangement between the racial groups will have to be made on the basis of the significant facts. And there is no more important body of fact in the racial situation than the opinions of men in regard to it. It is their beliefs and opinions, their sentiments and attitudes, their antipathies and prejudices, their prepossessions and biases that create and define the racial problem. If men, black and white, were rational creatures these facts would not enter and the race problem as commonly understood would not exist. But in the world of reality they are the significant facts, the primary data, in terms of which racial adjustments must be made.

It must at the same time be recognized that the sentiments and attitudes of men undergo change and that the change is in some measure the result of an increase of information. A summary restatement of certain facts elsewhere discussed in detail should contribute to this end.

THE RELATIVE RATE OF GROWTH OF THE NEGRO POPULATION

The first source of persistent wrong thinking in the practical world is the current body of misinformation in regard to the relative rate of increase of the Negro element of the population. The most contradictory statements are made and accepted. On the one hand it is

believed that the race has an excessively high birth rate and rate of natural increase; on the other hand it is confidentially asserted that the race in the American environment is dying out.

At the beginning of American national life there was one Negro to four white persons in the population. In the following decades the proportion of whites increased: in 1920 there were ten whites to each Negro. Each race increased rapidly in number and the rate of increase of each race steadily declined. The decennial increase of the white element of the population has been markedly higher than that of the Negro element for each census decade. This discrepancy between the rates of increase has been taken often as a measure of relative racial fertility and the declining importance, numerically, of the Negroes predicted. But the natural increase of the whites has been supplemented by the population of territorial additions to the national domain and by a steady flow of European immigrants, while the increase of the Negro stock has been due, almost exclusively, to the excess of births over deaths. It is immediately evident that the gross ratios of racial increase are not comparable. When we compute the natural increase of the native white stock it is found that there has been no very significant difference in the racial rates of increase. "In the nineteenth century the native Negro stock increased 663.3 per cent, while the native white stock increased 693.3 per cent".

There is no present reason to assume that the rough parallelism between the racial rates of natural increase characteristic of the past century will cease in the present. The two races seem to respond in the same way and in approximately the same degree to the increasing pace and complexity of modern life. To the extent that the population is maintained and increased by natural growth there is no convincing reason for believing that the present proportion of Negroes will not remain fairly constant.

But the immigration policy is of course an unknown factor that makes any attempt to predict the proportion of Negroes in the population at the end of the century or other future time an idle exercise.

THE NATIVE MENTAL CAPACITY OF THE NEGRO PEOPLE

A second fact that should be recognized and taken into account in any program of racial adjustment is the essential equality in mental ability of different racial groups.

The popular idea that the Negroes lack the inherent mental capacity necessary for cultural achievement is a direct inference from the retarded culture and the absence of historic achievement. It is perhaps inevitable that such beliefs should arise and persist. The cultural and historic facts are patent and common sense operates on the basis of gross phenomena. Moreover, the popular logic has had the support of much scholarly writing. Until very recently there has been no attempt at a scientific analysis and study of the social and cultural processes. Indeed, the mere existence of such processes was until recently not recognized. The result was a tendency to build an explanatory structure from the materials of physical and biological science. The inadequacy of this procedure became increasingly apparent as a scientific sociology developed and the relative independence of the social processes was demonstrated. But many persons find it inconvenient or difficult to evacuate a position once occupied and others are uninformed as to recent developments in social theory. One result is the frequent restatement of a point of view that scholarship has shown to be untenable. But the older position is in accord with popular sentiment and its repetition is in consequence most frequent in the semi-scientific books and journals seeking general circulation. This type of writing is a chief source to which the publicist turns for information on

scientific subjects and its point of view transmitted through editorial and news channels to the general public reinforces the traditional and common-sense opinions.

This is, of course, aside from the various problems of mental life and ability that occupy the attention of scholars. There is perhaps no competent student who would assert unequivocally the complete mental equality of races. Differences probably do exist but they are not of such nature as to have present significance for political and public policy. A genuine racial program, one based upon the findings of modern social science, will assume essential equality in the mental ability of races.

PHYSICAL AND OTHER DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE RACES

The third group of facts which a successful program will frankly recognize is the contrast in physical appearance, cultural status, and historic background of the races.

The distinctive appearance of the Negroes sets them apart, gives objective definition to the group. The resulting categorical treatment makes it difficult or impossible for individuals to escape the racial status, to function as individuals. However desirable or convenient it might be to ignore this fact it may not be done in an interracial plan that is to be workable. It is within the limits imposed by the cultural advance of the group as a whole that the great majority of individuals must confine their activity. But it goes beyond this. The race includes a great variety of physical types ranging from the West African to those just unable to pass as Europeans. This mixture of blood has been made the basis of a differential treatment that has determined cultural advance: the mixed-blood segment of the race is a generation in advance of the dark-skinned masses. Within the race, as between the races, color is a physical fact that automatically classifies. Its presence or absence determines eligibility in

innumerable ways: it is a chief basis for class distinctions, it is an important factor in marriage selection, it is a deciding element in determining an individual's fitness for positions of distinction and leadership. Neither the physical facts nor the extreme sensitiveness in respect to them may be ignored in any racial adjustment that is to be other than superficial.

The practical situation also involves a recognition of the present educational, economic, and general cultural status of the race. The mass of the Negroes are very backward and the educated group is very small. The separation between the groups is wide and complicated by the class and color prejudices just mentioned. Discussion typically ignores the one group or the other. The solutions and programs that come out of the white South generally have no place for the individuals of education; those that come from the intellectual Negro group are sometimes equally provincial in point of view.

In historic experience and social heritage the races differ as profoundly as they do in physical appearance. The resulting differences in mental pattern may not be ignored in framing a practical program.

THE PREJUDICE OF RACE AND CASTE

The existing prejudice of race and caste must be accepted as a relatively fixed factor in the racial situation.

This does not express nor imply any moral approval or disapproval of racial attitudes. It simply recognizes that prejudices do exist and that there is no evidence whatever to justify an assumption that they will be less important in the future than they are in the present and have been in the past.

It is possible to defend and more or less justify the existing prejudice and to do so from more than one point of view. Its effects are not all bad. It has been pointed

out, for example, that the prejudice of the white man was an important element in developing the independence and self-respect of Negro groups, that, for better or worse, it has retarded racial amalgamation, that it provided economic and other opportunities for success and leadership, that it created a sense of racial unity, that it made for public peace by an enforced separation, and in other ways brought results believed by many persons to be socially desirable. On the other hand it is possible to elaborate upon the undesirable consequences. Race prejudice and the resulting isolation of the Negroes has blinded the whites to their virtues, retarded their cultural assimilation, restricted their opportunities, perverted the democratic political institutions, prevented the economic and educational advance of the South, and in various other ways operated to the injury of both racial elements in the population.

It is possible to show the origin and trace the development of the racial attitudes, to show the way in which they change, and to show how changes may be brought about. But dealing with the fundamental factors operative in a social situation does not come within the region commonly described as practical; it does not provide tangible and immediate results.

What it is meant to emphasize here is, on the one hand, the futility of the numerous romantic programs that either do not see prejudice as a reality or assume that it will disappear in the presence of sentimentality and, on the other hand, the positive disutility of the militant programs and solutions depending for success upon the overriding of such prejudices or their destruction by direct frontal attack. Prejudice is a reality in the racial situation. It is not less real and probably not less permanent than the physical marks of race. A practical program must accept it as a primary datum.

THE GROWING RACIAL PSYCHOSIS

One other and increasingly important factor in race relations may be emphasized: the sense of Negro nationality.

A sense of race solidarity was inevitable as the Negroes advanced culturally in the presence of the white exclusion policy. There was of course some natural basis for separation and unity. Social contacts with individuals of a strange race are characterized by a vague, undefined feeling of discontent; there is a natural, or early acquired, preference for the familiar, a spontaneous tendency toward a separate racial life. As independent Negro institutions developed there was a growth in self-confidence, a feeling of independence, and a pride of accomplishment. The intolerant attitudes and discriminatory practices of the whites provided external conditions conducive to internal organization. There was a common enemy. It was the growing fear and hatred of the white that made possible a race-conscious solidarity in spite of the almost endless amount of internal jealousy and discord.

This nationalistic spirit is still in process of becoming. The course of its development and its rôle in the interracial situation will be determined by the racial policies of the dominant white group. But it is and will continue to be an important element to consider in interracial programs.

THE FUTURE

The above partial enumeration of facts and conditions is sufficient to show that the problem of races is not a thing that may be removed by political and administrative measures. It is a relatively permanent fact of American life and one that will increase in importance.

The general objective of one important school of thought is full equality of public treatment and accept-

ance of individuals, regardless of racial connections, on the basis of personal worth. In the various programs designed to realize this objective is the basic assumption that it is possible to remove or override prejudice of race. But this appears to be a vain assumption so long as there are distinguishable physical marks of race or social marks of caste. There is reason to anticipate an increased tolerance in intellectual and cosmopolitan circles but no reason to anticipate it elsewhere.

The trend of events is in the opposite direction. It is possible that adjustment may be made by an increased exclusion of the Negroes and their organization and perpetuation as an inferior caste. This arrangement has behind it the force of long tradition as well as certain deep-seated human tendencies. A relatively new factor operating in this direction is the industrial development of the South. As this increases, and its increase threatens to be rapid, the status of the Negroes will change but there is no reason to believe that it will improve. At present the whole force of the educational system is pitted against a caste solution. But this is a slender barrier since the institution is the creature of the public will and by relatively minor changes it could be changed from an opponent into a powerful ally of the cast order.

As a result of intermixture the Negroes as such ultimately will disappear from the population and the race problem will be solved. But in the meanwhile there will be the problem of defining relations in terms tolerable to the members of each racial group.

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